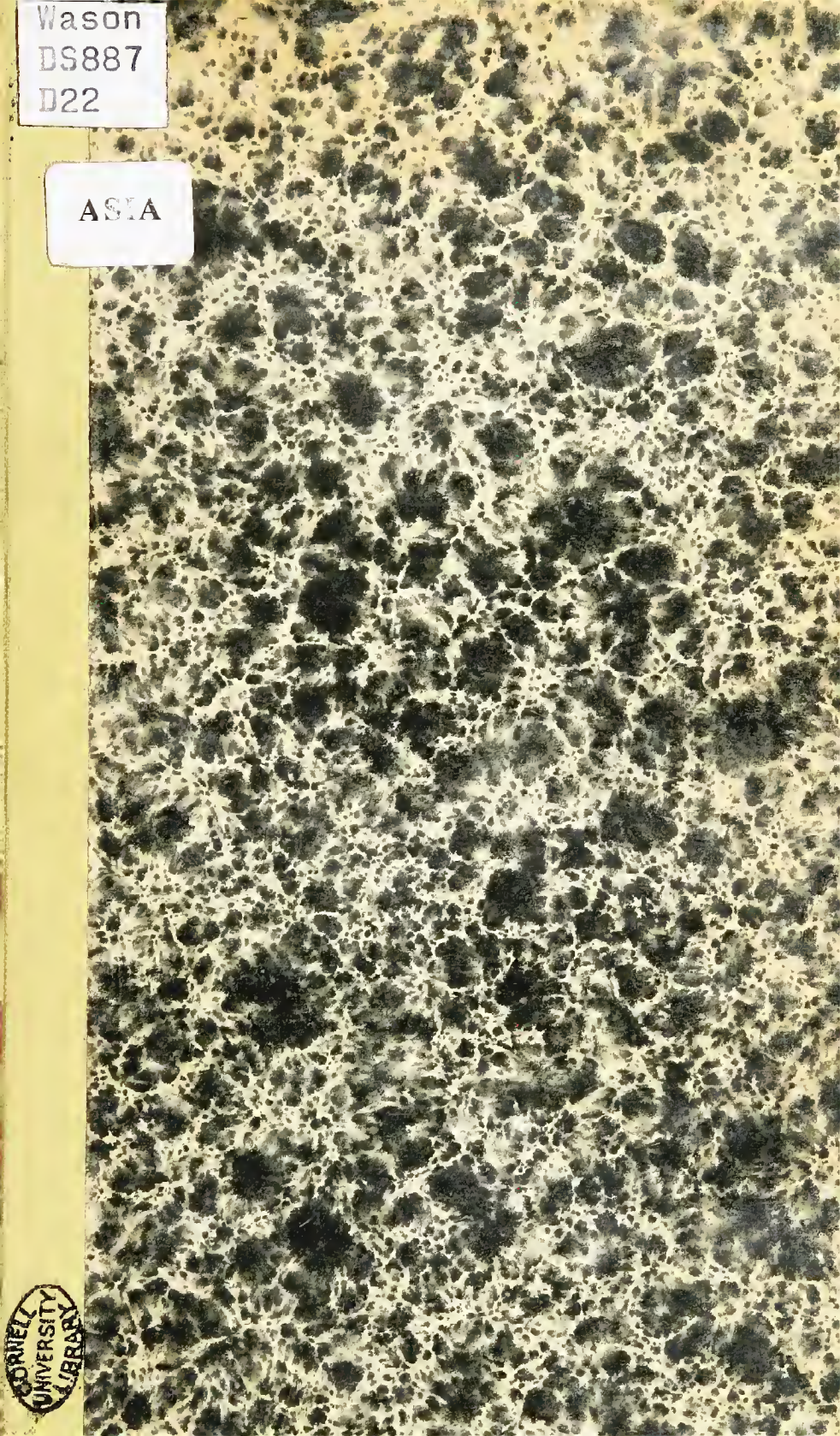
Wason
DS887
D22

ASIA



CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The original of this book is in
the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in
the United States on the use of the text.

http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924023240587

# Is Japan A Menace To Asia?

BY

**Taraknath Das, A.M.**

*Formerly Fellow in Political Science and Economics,*
*The University of Washington*

## WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

**The Rt. Hon. Tong Shao-yi**

*The Ex-Premier of the Republic of China*

## AND AN APPENDIX

BY

**Hon. Mr. Iichiro Tokutomi**

*The Chief Editor and Proprietor of the 'Kokumin Shimbin,'*
*Crown Member of the House of Peers of Japan, etc.*

SHANGHAI
1917

*ALL RIGHTS RESERVED*

Price $1.00 Mex.

Cornell University Library
DS 887.D22
Is Japan a menace to Asia?
3 1924 023 240 587

# IS JAPAN A MENACE TO ASIA?

BY

TARAKNATH DAS, A.M.
*Formerly Fellow in Political Science and Economics,*
*The University of Washington*

## WITH AN INTRODUCTION

BY

THE RT. HON. TONG SHAO-YI
*The Ex-Premier of the Republic of China*

## AND AN APPENDIX

BY

HON. MR. IICHIRO TOKUTOMI
*The Chief Editor and Proprietor of the 'Kokumin Shimbin,'*
*Crown Member of the House of Peers of Japan, etc.*

(PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHOR)

SHANGHAI
1917

*ALL RIGHTS RESERVED*

Dedicated

to

The Cause of Asian Independence

# TO THE ASIAN YOUTH

*The idea of slavery as advocated by Aristotle and others is a dead-letter to-day. The idea of dominance of a European nation, however insignificant it may be, by any other Power to-day faces the strongest active opposition of the civilized world. We expect that a day will also come when the idea of dominance of Asia by Europe or America will be abandoned by the present aggressors. This can be brought about only through effective and vigorous assertion of Asia in all fields of human activity, especially Politics. Every Asian youth—male or female—who possesses even a tiny bit of the feeling of self-respect should strive to achieve the goal of Assertion of Asia to the fullest sense of its meaning. Our method of assertion should not be mere imitation of the West. Our ambition is to draw our inspiration from the glorious past of Asia and rising above its present degraded condition, preserving the best of our ancestral treasures from the attacks of vandals and assimilating the best of all that the modern world has to give to Humanity, to build up something higher than the best products of Modern civilization. It is your privilege to work for this noble cause.*

## PREFACE

Sir Rabindranath Tagore has recently spoken concerning Japan's leadership in Asia in the following manner:—

"It does not surprise one to learn that the Japanese think it their country's mission to unite and lead Asia. The European nations, for all their differences, are one in their fundamental ideas and outlook. They are like a single country rather than a continent in their attitude towards the non-European. If, for instance, the Mongolian threatened to take a piece of European territory, all European countries would make common cause to resist them. Japan cannot stand alone. She would be bankrupt in competition with a United Europe, and she could not expect support in Europe. It is natural that she should seek it in Asia, in association with a free China, Siam and perhaps in the ultimate course of things with a free India. An associated Asia, even though it did not include the Semitic West, would be a powerful combination. Of course that is to look a long way ahead, and there are many obstacles, languages and difficulty of communication. But from Siam to Japan, there are, I believe, kindred stocks and from India to Japan there is much of religion and art and philosophy which is common possession."—*The Modern Review* (*Calcutta*), *September*, *1916*.

During my present travel in the Far East, especially in China where I am studying the political and economic conditions of the country, I have heard from some Chinese and practically from all Europeans and Americans I have come in touch with, that "Japan is a menace to Asia." I have discussed this question in the second chapter of the book. Some people may disagree with my conclusions;

and if any one of them wishes to communicate his views, I shall be very glad to receive them so that I may use them in my further study.

In the first chapter I have given my observations about the present political condition of China and in the last chapter I have tried to enumerate the future problems of the Far East.

I wish to express my gratitude to late Sister Nivedita (Miss Margaret Noble) who inspired me in my boyhood to go to America to continue my studies and also to late Prof. Roberts of the Department of Political Science of the University of California who gave me the first lesson on Political Science. I am indebted to my friend and master Prof. Dr. J. Allen Smith, the Head of the Department of Political Science and Economics and Dean of the Graduate School of The University of Washington, for the interest he took for my welfare while I was his student.

I am in great obligation to my American friends, specially to those who gave me shelter in their homes in times of my distress and others who extended all kinds of aid to acquire my education.

*Peking, Nov. 1, 5th year of The Republic of China.*

TARAKNATH DAS.
P. O. Box 233
Berkeley, Cal.,
U. S. A.

# INTRODUCTION

The future of Asia depends upon the ability of the Asiatic people to assert their rights politically. Political weakness of Asia has been the cause of many troubles and wars during the last century and a half. Asia as a whole, except Japan affords for the strong Powers unbounded natural resources, cheap labor, markets, defencelessness, and inefficient governments which give every incentive for aggression. About the modern imperialism among the Great Powers, Mr. Walter Lippman in his book "The Stakes of Diplomacy" rightly says: "It is not enough to say that they are 'expanding' or 'seeking markets' or 'grabbing resources.' They are doing all these things, of course. But if the world into which they are expanding were not politically archaic, the growth of foreign trade would not be accompanied by political imperialism. Germany has expanded wonderfully in the British Empire, in Russia, in the United States, but no German is silly enough to insist on planting his flag wherever he sells his dyestuffs or stoves. It is only when his expansion is into weak states—into China, Morocco, Turkey or elsewhere that foreign trade is imperialistic. This imperialism is actuated by many motives—by a feeling that political control insures special privileges, by a desire to play a large part in the world, by national vanity, by a passion for ownership, but none of these motives would come into play if the countries like China or Turkey were not politically backward."

Political backwardness is not inherent among the Asiatic people, though it is the current opinion among the western students. China in the past had her bright periods of history, her glorious days of Imperialism. In the field of culture and civilization China contributed her full share when she was politically strong. India of Asoka and Akbar

was far ahead of any of the European countries of those ages. It is by contact with the Orient that Europe in the past has learnt many useful things for her present civilization. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in his excellent and critical work "The Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes" has very rightly said, "The darkest period of European History known as the Middle Ages is the brightest period in Asiatic. For over a thousand years from the accession of Gupta Vicramaditya to the throne of Pataliputra down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the history of Asia is the history of continuous growth and progress. It is the record of political and commercial as well as cultural expansion—and the highest watermark attained by oriental humanity.....It was the message of this orient that was carried to Europe by the Islamites and led to the establishment of mediæval universities. In describing the origin of Oxford, Green remarks in the 'History of the English People': 'The establishment....was everywhere throughout Europe a special work of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervour of study sprang up in the west from its contact with the more cultured East. Travellers like Abelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Bagdad.'"

Professor Holland in his great work "European Concert in Eastern Question" has conclusively proved that the European Powers acted in concert to destroy Turkish supremacy. All the European Powers kept silence when all the treaty obligations were violated during the Turco-Italian War and the First Balkan War. To us it is quite clear that the Great Powers work unitedly to extract certain concessions from China. Mr. Millard in his new book "Our Eastern Question" says: "Great Britain endeavoured definitely to outline her own and the spheres which she conceded to other Powers, in response to a reciprocal attitude from them. That Great

Britain's position and her predominating vested interest in Central China and Kwangtung would be respected and that she in turn would respect Japan's position in South Manchuria, Russia's position in North Manchuria and Mongolia, France's position in Yunnan and Germany's position in Shantung, was clearly demonstrated in agreements and by various acts." Among other things the Concert of the Great European Powers have had one motive before them—exploitation of Asia and Africa to their advantage. This aggression of Europe in Asia can be stopped for the good of Asia and Europe by a solid Asiatic unity not merely from a cultural standpoint but also from a political standpoint. This stupendous work of political regeneration of Asia by an Asian Concert has great moral and ethical aspects. There cannot be effective peace so long as one nation or a group of nations looks down upon the other as inferior and tyrannizes. Friendship and fellowship can be established on equal footing. Japan's demonstration of military strength forces the so-called superior nations to shake hands with her, though with great reluctance. Political assertion of Asia will make Europe and America more tolerant and respectful towards human rights.

Because Japan is politically strong, she is able to develop her country politically and culturally. China is struggling to be free and she should accept co-operation from any quarter that is truly friendly. Japan is China's disciple of the past and all far-sighted Japanese believe that "Japan without China and India, is, in the long run, without legs." I would say that China without Japan and India is without legs. The fulfilment of Indian aspiration depends upon a strong united Sino-Japanese Alliance. Those Japanese and Chinese statesmen who are conscious of the real interests of both nations are not suspicious of one another. But it has always been the case in the world's history that only a few people can detect the true situation, while the mob misses

the right perspective of difficult problems. So the mass of China and Japan, and especially the jingoists of both countries, whether consciously or unconsciously, are acting against their own highest interests by distrusting one another. To our regret we find that the Anti-Japanese feeling in China is being fanned to flames by those outside interests which do not want to see China and Japan united.

About Indian unrest Mr. H. Fielding Hall, a British Civil Servant in Burma, has spoken, in his book "The Passing of Empire" (1914), in the following way:—

"The discontent has not passed, nor will it, nor can it pass. It is deep-rooted in the very nature of things as they are now. It is not local, nor is it confined to one or two strata of society, nor is it directed to one or two acts of Government. It is universal, in all provinces and all classes, directed not against this act or that act, but against the Government as a whole..... This discontent is not sudden. It has grown slowly for many years. It is not local; in one province it may be more apparent than in another, but it is universal. It is not temporary, but increases. So much is admitted by those who know..... India feels uncomfortable and clamours for anything she can get. The Indian Government gives her what it can, offering profusest condolence, which is sincere, and for the rest sitting upon her chest.....Man is gregarious, and he is so made that he cannot fully develop himself except in larger and again larger communities. To reach his full stature in any way he must develop in all ways. He must feel himself part of ever greater organisms, the village first, the district and the nation and finally of humanity. But in India all this is impossible. Except the village there is no community that exists even in name, and we have injured and almost destroyed even that. Thus an Indian has no means of growth. He cannot be a citizen of anything at all. Half his abilities and sympathies lie entirely

fallow, therefore he cannot fully develop the other half. .....It is the slowly growing consciousness of an energy that has no outlet, of a desire for advance in every direction, that causes unrest. In some ways the educated classes feel it most. Elsewhere they see men of their class cultivating their patriotism, increasing that sense of being and working for others, of being valuable to the world at large, showing capacity for leading, ruling, thinking, advancing in a thousand ways, while none of them is for them. They want to express the genius of their races in wider forms than mere individuality, but they are not able to do so. They want a national science and literature and law, they cannot have it. No individual as an individual can achieve anything. Not till he feels he is a cell in a greater and more enduring life can he develop. But this is not for India."

Can there be anything more pathetic than the condition of the people of India, one-fifth of the population of the whole world? The cause of the three hundred and fifteen millions of the people of India is the cause of Asia and of Humanity. Japan and China, if far-sighted, should not be unmindful of the problems of the people of India, because a strong, free India will be a source of strength to them.

We have been tired of hearing that Japan is a menace to Asia. Now comes a Hindu scholar, Mr. Taraknath Das, well-versed in world politics, who tries to show that Japan is not a menace to Asia with Asian supremacy, but, rather, that Japan is a menace to European aggression in Asia. Some western author has recently said: "Japan is an international nuisance and she may easily grow to be an international peril." We, however, do not look at a rising Japan in the same spirit. We wish only that China and India be equally strong, that Japan hold her own on the Asiatic continent against European aggressors. Then the international nuisance, charged to Japan, but really traced to other outside forces, will cease to exist in Asia. The awakening

of Asia is the most outstanding feature of the present age. The future of Asia is bright and glorious if the new spirit of Asia be rightly directed in co-operation with all the Asian people. We hope, though we may not live to see it fully accomplished, that Japan and China and India will work unitedly, standing for Asian Independence against all outside aggressions.

*Shanghai, Dec. 19th, 5th year of the Republic of China.*

Tony Shouh.

唐紹儀

# CONTENTS

DEDICATION.
TO THE ASIAN YOUTH.
Preface.
Introduction by the Rt. Hon. Tong Shao Yi.

CHAPTER I

**Political Situation in China**

PAGE

(a) Stability of the Chinese Republic. .. .. 1
(b) Mischievous Influences of Great Powers in China. .. .. .. .. .. 11
(c) Two Indispensable Requisites for a Strong China. .. .. .. .. .. 23

CHAPTER II

**Is Japan a Menace to Asia?**

(a) Japanese Unpopularity. .. .. .. 28
(b) The Theory of "Sphere of Influence" in China and Japan's Position. .. .. 34
(c) Japan's Asiatic Policy and Its Historical Background... .. .. .. .. 38
(d) Japan in Korea... .. .. .. .. 49
(e) An Aspect of Japanese and Russian Policies in China. .. .. .. .. .. 56
(f) An Aspect of Sino-British Relations. .. 60
(g) "Twenty-one Demands of Japan." .. .. 69
(h) Expansion of Japanese Commerce in Asia. .. 73
(i) Japan and Asia. .. .. .. .. 77

## CHAPTER III

### Future Problems of the Far East

PAGE

(a) Japanese Ambition and America. .. .. 80
(b) Conflicting Interest Between Japan and Great Britain. .. .. .. .. .. 84
(c) Russo-Japanese Alliance. .. .. .. 92
(d) Japan's Part in the European War and British Discontent. .. .. .. .. .. 96
(e) Probable Combination of Powers and Future Problems of The Far East. .. .. 103

### Appendix

Japan's Mighty Mission by Hon. Mr. Iichiro Tokutomi. .. .. .. .. .. 121

# CHAPTER I.

## POLITICAL SITUATION IN CHINA

### (a) Stability of the Chinese Republic

At present the political situation in the Far East is extremely hopeful and at the same time it is very discouraging and full of bad omens indicating signs of future conflict of grave nature.

The hopeful aspect is in the sphere of constitutional government and of the political idealism of China, where a nation is putting forth supreme effort to uphold liberal institutions and to discard monarchism in the face of opposition from a powerful group aided by military force.

The present internal condition of China is not yet wholly peaceful. Some of the so-called military leaders, but better termed bandit-leaders, are trying to coerce the nation to follow a reactionary path. They have been trying to block the administrative measures of the new republican government and only a few days ago they held the so-called "Hsüchow Conference" to express their displeasure at certain acts of Parliament. The Presidential mandate and the strong hand of the present government have induced them to dissolve the conference and have succeeded in exerting its moral and political preponderance. Thus the outlook for the Chinese republic, so far as its internal administration is concerned, is not clear. There may indeed, be some insurgency in different quarters, but in my estimation the political situation will rapidly adjust itself to normal conditions.

The most hopeful phase of the situation is that in Peking the representatives and Senators from all provinces are carrying on their work of revising the constitution, and

of enacting necessary legislation for the good of the nation. The present Parliament is manifestly becoming stronger. Though some of the members of the cabinet may not have the complete confidence of the Parliament, yet it is a highly satisfactory thing to note that no attempt has yet been made to override the will of the Parliament, even when it has refused to meet the wishes of the Executive. It is an absolute fact that the present situation in China is a triumph of constitutionalism over autocracy.

If another revolution happen to burst out in China it will be due to the obstinacy of the old military party, wishing to over-ride the Parliament. President Li is at heart with the popular party, Komintang, which represents the true progressive spirit of China. This party is composed of the most far-sighted republicans and is opposed to the non-progressive and autocratic principles of the military party. According to the present Chinese constitution the Premier forms the pivot of the administration. It is very unfortunate for China that the present Premier of China, Tuan Chi-jui, stands in opposition to the party in power in the Parliament. Thus the present Cabinet as a whole does not enjoy the confidence of the Parliament. It is an absolute necessity that there should be not only harmony but also active co-operation between the Cabinet and the Parliament; thus for the sake of utility and principle the present Cabinet ought to have resigned long ago. But the Premier insists on staying in office by any means, though serious disagreement exists between him and the President, over and above his eternal discord with the Parliament.

Now it is well-established that Hon. Tuan Chi-jui, the present Premier of China, was at the bottom of the Hsüchow Conference which tried to intimidate the President and Parliament. If the choice of the Premier is to be determined by the representatives of the Chinese people, then at the present time Hon. Tuan has not the slightest chance to remain in his present position of responsibility. Parlia-

ment, for the sake of principle and for the good of China, should not submit to the Cabinet so long as the Cabinet does not enjoy its confidence. So the situation is a kind of dead lock between the Parliament and the Cabinet. The Premier not having the support of the President and the Parliament can retain his office either by intimidating the Parliament by the military party or by starting a new revolution. It is very probable that the Parliament can become the master of the situation by getting rid of the Premier by a successful impeachment. Hon. Tuan is a man of strong personality and the party in power will require greater strength to accomplish the task. So it is imperative that the popular party be reorganized that some other group of members of Parliament representing some other factions opposed to the present cabinet would join hands with the dominant party. It seems that the popular leaders keenly feel the necessity of this move.

The Chief of the Political Bureau of Foreign Office of Japan, Hon. Mr. T. Obata, who was for a long time councillor of the Japanese legation in Peking, pointed out in his recent speech in Tokyo that the proper adjustment of the administration of China would be impossible until the true progressives be in full power. There are some European and American sympathisers of China who prefer the old militarists like Tuan to be in power rather than the progressive element generally known as 'Young China.' But for the salvation of China and Asia as a whole, I, like Mr. Obata, advocate supremacy of "Young China" over the old element. For the safety of China it is absolutely necessary that the President and the Parliament should have the control of the situation and the new cabinet be re-organized so that the Parliament and the Cabinet will work in harmony. Every Chinese patriot should pay utmost heed to it that this struggle of constitutionalism vs. autocracy may not lead to another revolutionary outbreak. Another outbreak

not only means waste of many valuable lives, waste of vast sums of money, administrative chaos and prevalence of lawlessness, but also the worst of all would be possibility of Foreign Intervention in China and destruction of China's prestige as a power.

In future there may happen some outburst against the present form of liberalism in China, but Republicanism is going to stay in China with an ever-increasing form of stability and dignity. By the revolution of 1911 the Chinese people cast off the Manchu yoke forever, and should there be in future any attempt to restore monarchy, the verdict of the nation will be newly adopted republican institutions.

The next most hopeful thing is that China is not content with mere republican institutions but she puts forth her energy in every field of human activity; vital changes are slowly but surely taking place in her whole national life. The Chinese republic is conscious that educational reform is probably the first thing necessary for China's good. The results achieved in this direction are really surprising and laudable.

"The new statistics show that China has greatly increased her number of schools since the Revolution. In 1911 there were about 37,000 schools including high schools, colleges, and universities but not including missionary institutions. By the end of 1914 the number had increased to 59,796 an increase of forty percent in less than four years....The number of institutions of industrial and technical character has increased to a large extent, for the returns now put these down at 3,299.

" In the field of female education some striking figures are given. Sometime ago the government made a regulation that each district was to maintain at least one high grade primary school, each prefecture one high grade school and each province one normal school for girls and it looks unmistakably as if these rules were carried out and

bearing fruits. There are at present 5,300 primary schools for girls, more than 250 normal schools and over 600 high schools for the girls in the country."—*Educational Directory for China, 1916.*

The present Minister of Education, Fan Yuan Lien, has been trained in Japan, and he looks for the day when China will be as efficient educationally as Japan.

It must be remembered that China is doing this great work while she needs money for other fields of administration. Educational reform is struggling against deficiency in the revenue.

It will be of interest to know that China has adopted an effective measure to have a uniform educational system for all the provinces, such as Germany or the United States have not accomplished. China has not accomplished much, but she has adopted the right principle. While the statesmen of China are debating in the Parliament, the Chinese National Educational Conference is holding its second annual session, and representative educators from all provinces are planning ways and means for the educational regeneration of China. The most gratifying part of this event is that the present Minister of Education has participated in the programme of the work of the conference.

The Chinese statesmen all see that unless China has money, she cannot effect reforms urgently needed for transforming the nation so as to be recognized as a Power. They are all anxious to have more railroads built, and more mines developed. It is to be regretted that the Great Powers of the world early decided upon a plan, that in case China even asked for a loan, she must mortgage her sources of revenue to get the loan. In the past, sometimes, this idea was carried out by the aid of unscrupulous Chinese statesmen, but to-day the Chinese people and statesmen do not want to mortgage their country for a foreign loan. Some of the members of the Chinese Parliament are proposing to

increase the custom duty and to abolish "likin" so that China will have more money without borrowing from outside. This plan will be opposed by some of the Great Powers. To them it means that China wants to try to be independent of them financially; this is certainly an outrage and can never be tolerated!

China is striving her best to restrict the cultivation of opium and vigorously to suppress the opium habit, but it is surprising and shameful that foreign business people are engaged in smuggling opium and morphia into China. Those who have the opportunity of meeting the present Minister of Justice, Chang Yao Tsang, will certainly be convinced of China's supreme purpose to adapt her judiciary to modern methods that all forms of illegality may be suppressed. In the courts of Peking and provincial cities we find decided changes for the better.

That the Chinese army needs greatest attention is the verdict of the nation. China has more than half a million of soldiers but until recently the army was more or less decentralized. The respected and popular President of China, General Li, and all patriotic leaders of China are anxious to renovate the Chinese army. On the 10th October I had the opportunity of attending the grand military review of over fifteen thousand modernised Chinese soldiers. President Li was in supreme command. The impression left on my mind is that China has the best material for raising a first-class army. The review was as impressive as that of the German or Japanese army. China has soldiers, but one of the greatest defects of the Chinese army is that all the units are not equipped with the same kind of rifles or guns. In the past different nations thought it to be their right to get contracts to supply arms to China, and each Power has supplied China with arms of its own standard. The Chinese government feels keenly about the present condition of its army as quite unsatis-

factory, but she cannot remedy it in a day nor in a year, when she has no funds sufficient to meet her most urgent demands.

By establishing a republican form of government China has accomplished more than what other nations could do in centuries. There is yet much to be done in the field of reconstruction. China does not lack patriotism, but she is tied hand and foot and is unable to move. But we hope she will succeed, slowly, indeed, but surely, to get out of her external bondage, though it may cost her a heavy price.

To pessimists I must give the reminder that "the problem before the republican revolutionaries is a vast one, and one which no country has solved without years of confusion and bloodshed. European critics are apt to forget this. It took a century of successive revolutions and reactions before the Republic was definitely established in France. Two revolutions and a series of civil wars were necessary to get rid of the Stuarts in England. The surprising thing in China is that the dynasty has disappeared with so little effort and so little regret. For among all the possibilities of the future, the one which is universally repudiated is a Manchu restoration."—*Prof. G. Lowes Dickinson: Civilizations of India, China and Japan.*

With all the defects of the modern China the above mentioned distinguished observer of world-forces and civilization has very rightly said, "It does not, however, follow, as European critics often imply, that China can never acquire a political sense or work a constitution. Given education, a press, better means of communication, and in a generation the change might be effected. The Chinese, as experience has shown, are the most educable of people; and this, no doubt, applies to the masses no less than to the handful who have hitherto had the opportunity. And the education has begun.....The more important thing is that

the educational process has begun, the education both of events and schooling. Old China is a thing of the past." Thus the most hopeful thing in the Far Eastern situation is that new, modernized Republican China, with progressive ideas, is born and she is zealously guarded by her founders that she may attain maturity and contribute her share to the cause of the civilization of the world. "New China" gives new hopes to believers in the progress of humanity, unless she is killed before she attains maturity.

Many people often remark that the ideal of republicanism and progress in China is skin-deep, and that the Chinese nation can never be progressive, because as a nation she is unchangeable. Nothing is farther from truth than this notion. China possesses vitality and tremendous power of resistance; China's progressive spirit is not merely a copy of the west, neither is it wholly the fruit of the benevolent missionary movement, nor is it only due to the fact that some thousands of Chinese students have studied in America, Japan and Europe. These things are certainly significant factors in stimulating the vital element of the Chinese spirit. The vital element of the Chinese life and the body-politic is the spirit of the Chinese people. Marquis Okuma a few years ago somewhere said that the republican movement in China was due more to the reassertion of the best of the Chinese philosophy than anything else. Loyalty to the State, Society and Family, and recognition of rights as well as duties of individuals, are two things ingrained in Chinese life from time immemorial. Success of republicanism will depend upon assimilation of the modern ideas in perfect harmony with the national spirit of China. For China, effective progress lies in assimilation of all that is best in the world, but not in mere imitation of the west. China cannot afford to forget the best of her own tradition.

The Chinese republic is the manifestation of the latent spirit of the Chinese society. "Not only the social arrangement of China has kept alive the spirit and form of democracy, but political theories of the most representative Chinese philosophers have never surrendered the democratic principle to imperial claims. From the time of Mencius the Emperor's sovereignty has been based upon a democratic sanction. Confucius prepared the way for the enunciation of the teachings of Mencius by the doctrine that the emperor is the son of Heaven and the Father of the people. On the surface this seems to bind the polity in China to autocratic control. The constitution of China was apparently a paternal organisation. But an autocracy with theocratic tendency sooner or later assumes in practice a more democratic form. The autocracy of God is a republic of man. In a theocratic system none can set himself above the rest, because all are equal in their inferiority to the deity. So it was possible for Mencius to teach that if the Emperor governed badly, his rule has lost the sanction of Heaven. He might be removed. The sign that he was governing badly, was the complaint of the people. The judgment of Heaven upon him was the uprising of the people. Thus *vox populi* was *vox dei*. In practical political theory the imperial rested upon the sanction of the people, . . . . . that is, upon a democratic basis. It was founded upon a divine right to rule, but upon a divine right to rule well. Confucius said that without the confidence of the people no government can be maintained. If the prince's commands are just and good let the people obey them, . . . . but if the subjects render slavish obedience to the unjust commands of a bad ruler, it is not the ruler only, but his sycophantic subjects themselves who will be answerable for the consequent ruin of the state. Mencius went further and said that when the prince treats his ministers with respect, as though they

were his own hands and feet, they in their turn look up to him as the source from which they derived nourishment; when he treats them like dogs or horses, they regard him as no more worthy of reverence than one of their fellow subjects; when he treats them as though they were dirt to be trodden on, they retaliate as a robber or as a foe. The son of Heaven (the Emperor) can present his chosen successor to God, but he cannot compel God to recognise his nominee. Yao presented Shun to Heaven and Heaven signified its acceptance of him. He presented him to the people and the people, too, accepted him. He was the chosen of God and the chosen of the people; so he reigned. A bad ruler might be put to death by his oppressed subjects. With reference to the slaying of the infamous king Chow (1122 B. C.), Mencius in his reply observed, 'I have heard of the killing of a robber and a villain named Chow; I have not heard about the killing of a king.' Mencius is also reported to have said: 'The most important element in a State is the people; next comes the altars of the national gods; least in importance is the king'."—" *Trade Politics and Christianity, in Africa and The East*" *by A. J. Macdonald. pp206-208. (1916).*

Thus the Chinese republic is the expression of the will of the people and its foundation is very firmly rooted in the bed-rock of Chinese national idealism.

Lastly there are some zealous Christians in China and other lands who see that China's future salvation lies in the adoption of Christianity. To us it is very obvious that for a nation to be great a special brand of religion is not at all essential. The Roman Empire flourished with Paganism; the Arabian and Turkish Empire flourished with Islam. The Indian Empire also with Hinduism and Buddhism had her glorious past; China had her palmy days with Confucianism. Great prosperous Spain, one of the greatest of the World Empires of the past with her Christianity has

crumbled down to her present condition. This is the teaching of the past history. We all know well that Japan's success to-day is not due to Christianity; but because Japan has risen to be a first-class power we again notice that the Japanese Buddhist missionaries have begun to cross the ocean to propagate their faith. For a religion to be accepted as a world-religion it needs the support of a politically strong nation. To make China a world-power it is not at all essential that she should adopt Confucianism or Christianity or Buddhism as state-religion. But it is absolutely necessary that China should preserve her own national traditions so that she will not lose her identity.

### (b) Mischievous Influences of Great Powers in China

China is doing her best to set her house in order, but the European nations loathe to see China a strong nation. This is nothing new to the students of World-Politics. In 1867 Secretary Seward saw this and remarked : "The preservation of the Chinese Empire will be hard enough amidst all the transpiring and conflicting agencies of a mercantile, missionary and political character in it." The late Marquis Ito rightly pointed out that "international jealousy is the prime factor in Chinese politics," and these international jealousies have cost China more than anything else. The dark side of the intrigues carried on in Peking by the Powers is not at all known to the world and it will not be out of place to point out how the late Yuan Shih-kai was aided by the British and opposed by the Japanese. Yuan proved to be a traitor to the republic, but those who know the secrets, testify that the British authorities were very much disturbed by the every day increasing Japanese influence; and in Yuan, Sir John Jordan found the deadliest enemy of Japan, so the British element in China did all that could be done to aid Yuan to

play the role of an Emperor. Japan opposed and helped the South with every possible means to drive out Yuan; and Sir John Jordan, owing to diplomatic pressure brought by Japan, had to desert Yuan at the last moment, who died of a broken heart. This intrigue of the British and Japanese did not cost them much, but it has cost China millions. Let us give Japan credit that she supported the cause of the people.

The next recent great intrigue of the British to check the Japanese influence in China is to involve China in this world-war in favor of Great Britain. This intrigue is yet going on; the political advisers and journalists of repute are doing their share to bring about this tragedy. The allied cause, with Great Britain as its leader, has repeatedly offered as much as $200,000,000 to China if she would join the war. But the Japanese are opposed to it. One of the British agents working for this cause has given me this argument that as China is committed to liberalism, so she should join the Allies' cause, and by doing so, she, after the war, will have something to say about herself, and will be able to shake off all Japanese influence through the aid of Great Britain.

Japan is opposed to this idea in protecting herself and in protecting China. She advances the following arguments against China's joining the war: (1) China should not declare war against Germany, because it will be a violation of international justice; (2) China may need money, but she should not follow Italy and Roumania, who have joined the Allies for money and for greed of territory; (3) Whatever money China may get, it will not be sufficient for her in carrying on the war and in making her internal improvement; (4) To get money for this war means the more heavily mortgaging of Chinese territories and sources of revenue in one way or other; (5) Now that China has got rid of Germany, if she now goes into the war, Germany

will also in the final settlement, demand something from China, and thus China will unnecessarily make Germany her enemy; (6) If China enters the war, then the Chinese army and Chinese internal administration may be more or less controlled by European Powers, which is not agreeable to China's and Japan's interests; this may lead to the break-up of China; and (7) Japan does not want any European nation or group of nations to get control over China such as Germany has over Turkey; this would mean a menace to Japan's existence.

Over 79% of the Chinese territory is under the benevolent influence of these European Friends of China and Japan. China must ask their permission before starting any internal improvements; otherwise, they may protest and upset a weak Chinese government.

The European press blame China for being non-progressive; but the European nations do not want China to be progressive, or economically independent, or free from their political tutelage. This is proved beyond doubt through the attitude of the European Powers and Japan about the new railroad loan extended by an American corporation. Let us quote the *Peking Gazette* on this point:—

"Foreign writers are wont to complain that nothing in the sense of real work is being done in this country. This is, of course, a misleading statement, although much that ought to be done is left undone and one of the principal reasons for this state of things is revealed in what begins to look like the development of a scandalous opposition to American enterprise in China. Owing to the war putting a stop to the financing of public undertakings in China by the European capitalists and contractors, a powerful American organization has turned its attention to this country, and, in an entirely business sense, has secured contracts for the construction of certain railroads in China. The

transaction involves the expenditure of $200,000,000 of American money, a considerable portion of which will be spent in this country for labor and other things. It is admitted that there is absolutely nothing like 'politics' in the deal. The same remark applies with greater force to the American loan for the conservancy of a portion of the Grand Canal. And yet we have Japan, Russia, France, Great Britain and even Belgium—a country that at least ought to know what not to do to a state struggling to preserve its elementary rights of existence—trying to interfere with the construction of necessary public works in the country, simply because the Americans can do what these people cannot now do."

The following extracts from the *Japan Advertiser* and other papers explain the position :—

"Tokyo, Oct. 15—American interests in China now face the objections of four Powers....It is learned here yesterday that Prince Kudacheff, Russian Minister to Peking, sent a formal note of protest to the Chinese government last Wednesday against the railway contract....The Russian protest is said to be based on the secret treaty concluded with China in 1899. France's objections were from the fact, say authorities here, that an agreement was reached between the Chinese and a Belgian Syndicate, in which French capitalists were interested, giving the Belgian company the right to construct an extension of the Haichow-Lanchow line, which is in the same territory as the American road to be built between Ninghsia and Lanchow in Kansu Province.

"Britain's protest is said to be based on a concession obtained from China for a line in Chekiang Province. The Hangchow-Wenchow line, contemplated by the American Co., is in conflict with Britain's agreement in Chekiang..... England is also said to object to the granting of a concession to the American firm for a line from the centre of

Hunan province to Nanning in Kuangse province, maintaining that it conflicts with the optional privilege which England obtained in 1890 from Viceroy Chang Chi-tung of Hupeh and Hunan.

"A Peking special to the *Osaka Mainichi* declares that the loan recently concluded between the Chinese authorities in Shantung province and American capitalists is a violation of the provisions of the base of Kiaochau and of Art III of the German Railway and Mining Treaty, which provides: 'All arrangements in connexion with the (railway) works specified shall be determined by a future conference of German and Chinese representatives.'

"As it is impossible for Japan, who as the result of the Tsingtau operation has driven German influence out of Shantung and has virtually succeeded to the German rights in question by concluding the new Sino-Japanese Treaty, to sit idle in the present circumstances, the Tokyo government addressed inquiries to the Chinese Government in September, asking China's views regarding the infringement of the rights in question."—*Peking Gazette, Oct. 20, 1916.*

China needs money; but when she does her best to develop her own resources, the Great Powers adopt a patronizing air, and oppose that which they profess to want.

China should develop her industries, but she is tied hand and foot by all the Great Powers,—U.S.A. included—because China cannot impose a necessary protective tariff for fostering her own industries. It is surprising to see how Great Britain has specially tied up China by a special Treaty, so that British cotton goods will enjoy certain privileges against Chinese goods. Sec. 9. of Art VIII of the Treaty between Great Britain and China signed at Shanghai, Sept. 5, 1902:—"An excise equivalent to double the import duty as laid down in the Protocol of 1901 is to be charged on all machine-made yarn and cloth manufac-

tured in China, whether by foreigners at the open ports or by Chinese anywhere in China." Sec. 8: "The Chinese government is at liberty to impose consumption tax on articles of Chinese origin not intended for export." But the preamble of the said article explicitly says that "payment of import duty and surtax shall secure, for foreign imports, whether in the hands of Chinese or non-Chinese subjects, in original packages or otherwise, complete immunity from all other taxation, examination or delay; that the total amount of taxation leviable on native produce for export abroad shall under no circumstances exceed 7½ per cent. ad valorem."—*British Blue Book—China Papers, 1902-06.*

Owing to the favored-nation clause all the Treaty Powers enjoy the above benefit at China's cost.

How would U.S.A., Japan, England, France or Germany like to be put in China's place in their commercial treaties? Is it not a fine testimony to the Great Powers' solicitude in helping China? Western scholars often naively say that China is bound by the Treaties she herself has made. Let me tell you that China, of her own free will, did not sign these most abominable documents which infringe on China's right to develop her own resources. She has been *forced* to do so. She is now subjected to all kinds of humiliations from all quarters.

Russian Cossacks the other day massacred over 300 Chinese in Kashgar. About this the *Peking Gazette* of Oct. 10, 1916 says: "Little has been heard as to what the government has done respecting the massacre of over three hundred Chinese by Russian Cossacks in Kashgar, but indignation has been intense in Chinese circles. The M.P.'s of Sinkiang are trying to secure the requisite number of signatures to a resolution asking the Minister of Foreign Affairs to make a statement on the subject. The question will probably come up for discussion in the house on Thursday." What can poor China do? She is powerless to

fight with any European nation like Russia, so her subjects are killed without any fear. If three hundred "white-men" were killed then all the nations would have started for a punitive expedition against China. The worst of all is that all the British papers shamelessly publish, that the massacre of the Chinese by the Russian Cossacks is due to German intrigue! If a Japanese company had killed some Chinamen, the benevolent European protectors of China would have raised a tremendous howl. To white people the killing of a Chinese is a matter of no special consequence; but to-day they cannot take the same attitude about a Japanese subject because the Mikado's army and navy may demand explanation and severe compensation.

While Russian Cossacks mercilessly massacred the Chinese in Kashgar, France probably saw it a fit time to annex a part of Tientsin by force, and to imprison the Chinese policemen who were on duty. This happened about the 24th Oct., 1916. The history of the case is absolutely unique. In 1902 the French wanted to extend the limit of the French concession at Tientsin. The Chinese government refused to sanction it. The French people began to build houses and made certain improvements, and then wanted to take it by force, which the Chinese government refused to concede. Let us suppose that the Japanese government should ask for a certain concession in California, and when refused, some Japanese should take up residence there, and make improvements, and all of a sudden Japanese soldiers should come and oust the American policemen and arrest them. How would the American people like it? WAR—WAR—WAR, and no compromise; all the British papers would certainly take up America's cause.

Now it is very interesting to see how nearly every British paper in China is supporting the French unjust claim and is speaking contemptuously about the Chinese

attitude of Protest; as if China is a white man's happy hunting ground, and anything done by him is justifiable.

The Chinese people have started a general boycott against the French. Diplomats of the Entente group are indignant about it and will probably join in demanding an indemnity for the loss of business to the French!

It will not be out-of-place to remind ourselves that the French violence towards China is not a new thing. After the Boxer trouble George B. Smyth, President of the Anglo-Chinese College, Foochow, wrote some articles in the *Atlantic Monthly*, in which he said:

"In 1884 a French fleet entered the Min River and anchored ten miles below the great city of Foochow, in Southern China, to frighten the government at Peking into paying an indemnity demanded by the French Minister for alleged guilty complicity in helping the people of Tonquin in their fight against the aggression of their country by France. When he failed, the case was given over to the Admiral, the French ships opened fire and in less than an hour the Chinese fleet, with the exception of one ship, was destroyed and over 3,000 Chinese killed, and all without declaration of war. The bodies of the dead floated out to sea on the tide, many of them borne back on the returning current, and for days it was hardly possible to cross the river anywhere between the anchorage and the sea twenty miles below without seeing some of those dreadful reminders of French treachery and brutality.... If some of us had been killed the world would have rung with demonstration of Chinese cruelty but 3,000 victims of French guns would have never been thought of.

"Two years ago (1898) the French perpetrated an equally atrocious outrage at Shanghai. Wishing to enlarge their settlement, they desired to obtain possession of a large rest house for the dead which belonged to the people of Ningpo. Failing in negotiations the French consul

proceeded to tear down the surrounding walls. The people opposed; marines were landed from a French cruiser in the river; they fired on the crowd and killed twenty."

The French are very persistently working to get greater concessions in Yunnan as compensation for the murders of two French missionaries.

According to the latest report it is self evident that the British government has encroached upon Chinese soil on the Sino-Burmese border. "Dr. Wu Ting Fang, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, has handed a note to the British Charge d'Affairs at Peking about Pienma containing the four items:—(1) The British forces stationed at Pienma to be restricted to about 500 and at most 700 men. (2) The British forts in the leased grounds and other strategical points in Pienma be removed. (3) The club which has been established by the British to be kept on but no further camps to be allowed to be built. No foreigners in Pienma should be allowed to travel outside unless with passports. (4) The Chinese landed property now occupied by the British to be restored within a fixed date."—*Shanghai Mercury, January 31, 1916.*

A new dispute has also arisen between China and Japan because of Japan's establishing police stations in certain parts of Amoy which the Chinese authorities hold as violation of her sovereignty.

So far as I can learn, Germany's attitude now towards China during the war is just to watch and see, and to calculate calmly how she can gain the confidence of the Chinese people and of the leaders, so that after the war she may get certain concessions. Even if she should fail to get concessions she will want to regain her commercial footing. Germany is now straining her energies in keeping China out of war. German actions in the Far East in the past were not faultless. Her acquisition of Kiaochau and special privileges in Shantung cannot be upheld. Ger-

many in the past treated the Chinese unjustly like other European Powers. But to-day she is most respected of all the European Powers in China. Mr. A. M. Pooley in "The Secret Memoirs of Viscount Hayashi," London, (1915), says: "Even to-day, in spite of the fall of Tsingtau, Germany is more respected in Peking than any other European Power, *because she is the only one which appeared to have no political axe to grind as the price of her participation in the loan.*" Now she is no menace to China.

China has no military force to oppose these Great Powers seeking for their just rights (!) in China. Poor China; just as soon as she is forced to confer certain special privileges on one of the Great Powers, others at once demand similar concessions. For instance, Great Britain has kept China bound by Article 54 of the Treaty of Tientsin, 1858, to the effect that the British government and its subjects should be allowed equal participation in all privileges, immunities and advantages that might thereafter be granted by China to the government or subjects of any other nation.

We have heard much about Chinese moral inferiority, but it staggers one to see that while the Chinese government, reformers, and people in general, are in earnest to suppress opium growing and the use of the poison, British merchants at Shanghai have formed an Opium Combine to gain their end by making money at the cost of the Chinese.

The *Peking Gazette* of the 20th October, 1916, speaks about the Opium Combine in the following way:

"Money is power and so it is in the hands of the Opium Combine. When a Trust is able to spend $2,000,000 on a languishing traffic, condemned by all the civilized world, it becomes at once patent to what extent the octopus is liable to fleece the miserable opium smokers in China who happen to be Chinese. For several months past four

of our leading lawyers are aiding the Combine with their frantic efforts to run down every man who was under their least suspicion and one of those legal luminaries, be it noted, is a member of the Shanghai Municipal Council! The latter is reported to have worked hard to induce the local British Consul General once more to enlist his sympathies for the Opium Combine, but happily, the latter has declined to do anything of the sort. It is reliably reported that the British Minister at Peking, Sir John Jordan, was similarly approached and the latter has equally refused to recognize the Combine any longer. As a last resort they telegraphed to the London Foreign Office for support of their desire to compel either the Chinese government or the local Municipal Council (Shanghai) to aid them to secure the nine months' privileges. The decision of the London Foreign Office is awaited with feverish interest. ....It may not be generally known to all that there are about ten merchants (British) who are engaged in the opium traffic in Shanghai, as against 150 merchants representing piece goods houses in Europe. The names of the opium firms follow: David Sassoon & Co., Ltd.; E. D. Sassoon & Co., Ltd.; S. J. David & Co.; D. E. J. Abraham; Ellis J. Ezra; Tata & Sons; E. Pabaney, H. Neotia & Co.; Cawasjee, Pallanjee & Co.; Edward Ezra & Co. Altogether there are about 4,000 chests of Indian opium yet to be disposed of by the foregoing ten British firms."

On Nov. 2, 1916, a Special Correspondent of the *Peking Gazette* writes to the effect that the Opium Combine (British) is about to enter into the role of smugglers. Without passing any remark I shall quote certain extracts :—

"The ten British members comprising the Opium Combine find it hard to surrender unconditionally to the will of the Chinese Government. The latter has solemnly declared

that no matter what happens, the nine months extension will, on no account, be considered favorably and the traffic must cease on the 31st March, 1917. Every means have been tried by the Combine to induce China to reconsider her decision and now when the thing looks utterly hopeless for them there is a persistent rumour that the Combine intends to repudiate the agreement made with Yuan Shih-kai by which a surtax of $3,500 is leviable on each chest of opium exported to three provinces, viz.: Kiangsu, Kiangsi and Kwantung. There is a feeling that upon the cessation of payment of surtax, the Chinese government, finding itself in financial embarrassment, might feel the pinch of hard times and therefore bow to the inevitable and grant the privileges required. On the other hand it is admitted that with the non-payment of the above amount, the three provinces in question would be closed entirely to the transportation of Indian opium, but at the same time it is quite possible for the Combine to smuggle by fair or foul means their opium into the interior and thereby take chances like other wicked and unscrupulous smugglers.....

"Probably if a mandate is issued by the President that any smuggler of opium arrested in any part of China would be liable to capital punishment, instead of a fine or imprisonment, it might have a deterrent effect on the would-be smugglers who would certainly think twice before embarking on such a perilous journey."

In this connection it seems quite certain that the Chinese authorities will not extend any time limit after March 31, 1917, to the Opium Combine. But to avoid international complication with Great Britain China will have to buy up all the opium, which cost more than 20 million dollars! Why should China buy up the opium? Because she will be forced to do so; it cannot be imagined that Great Britain will quietly see that her

traders will lose such an amount even if they were engaged in opium trade. If China could use this $20,000,000 for establishing a National University it would have been an asset for her, but as the thing stands she must pay for the opium poison against her own will.

In the past the policy of the Great Powers has been to support one another to get more concessions. When they cannot support each other, they intrigue to get the most out of China for themselves. Now a Republic in China with self-respect is a drawback to all these undue advantages; none of the Great Powers are very anxious to help China; rather they would prefer to see China in her past degraded condition. It is thus that we hear from many writers harsh criticism of Republican China.

### (c) Two Indispensable Requisites for a Strong China

"The influence of the western nations ramifies far beyond the limits of the spheres of influence surrounding the treaty ports, far beyond the mining and railway enterprises which tend to extend the areas of the coastal concessions in land. The money borrowed by the Chinese government for administrative purposes has deprived the nation of autonomy. The customs department has long been under the control of a British Minister; and under the new republican regime the President is provided with a British political adviser, to guard the interest of the western powers. The creation of the Chinese republic has not been able to throw off foreign domination. Nor will such domination be removed until one of two things happens, either China repays foreign loans and buys out the foreign railway and mining interests: or she must establish a political system sufficiently strong to guarantee the interest and the capital of all foreign money locked up in China."

To get rid of the pernicious influence of these Powers China needs a strong government which will command the

universal respect and confidence of the Chinese people. A strong government backed by the support of four hundred millions of people can certainly in a short time make China economically independent. To have a strong government means to have an efficient government, with strong feeling and programme for Chinese independence and future greatness. China should be guided by the wisest and the best of her children. China does not lack efficient men; but the machine of reconstruction is not yet properly adjusted. But once adjusted it will undoubtedly work efficiently if the cogs and wheels of the machine work in harmony and the efficient officials be not removed to suit the whims of some one. Thus the first crying need for China is to have a Civil Service System which will guarantee every efficient man in office a security of tenure of office so long as he performs his part well and creditably. This will be the proper remedy for the spoil-system which is yet prevalent to such a large extent; this reform will tend to win the confidence of the people.

It is to be regretted that one of the Ministers has removed many efficient officials of his Department only to put his own men in the job. This kind of selfish, unprincipled actions on the part of the highest officials of the State are undoubtedly against the best interest of the country. China should follow Germany in the question of efficiency and civil service. Efficient officials should be encouraged to hold offices with proper recognition and inducement. China needs that worthy leaders should be invested with governmental authority to transform the nation to a first-class Power. Efficiency and security of tenure of office are not opposed to the highest principles of democratic government, which means a government by the wisest and the best for the interest of the governed.

It is obvious that the Chinese Government at the present time does not enjoy the complete confidence of the

nation. The nation certainly endorses the form of government, but it seems, because there is no security of tenure of office and no system to place truly efficient and honest men in office, that the people show indifference to the difficulty of the present administration. If the administration enjoy proper confidence of the people then China with her population and riches will not have to go to the Western nations and Japan to borrow money on conditions which certainly partially destroy her sovereignty. Let me emphasize it again that China needs a strong, efficient government and this will be only possible when she inaugurates a system of Civil Service which will guarantee the tenure of office to all officials from the highest to the lowest.

The second important thing for China is to have a consistent foreign policy (which she never has had during the last fifty years or more). The problem of the Chinese foreign policy is not how to set the European Powers against one another, nor how to set the European nations with America against Japan; but it is the problem of preserving China's honor and territorial integrity and also of recovering all her lost territories. China should not follow the old path of the late Li Hung Chang, who, to please Russia and to set her against Japan, practically gave away the most valued possessions of China. China should not cater to one group or the other of the European Powers who are always quarrelling like a greedy pack of wolves and never satisfied with their own possessions. China should never subordinate her own interests to those of any nation. China should make such alliances as will strengthen her, but she should always remember that when a strong nation allies herself with a weak one, the strong often tries to use the weak to serve her own interests at the cost of the weak. China should not get into an entangling alliance in such a way that may lead her to final destruction; but she must chalk out a foreign policy consistent to her ambition of

recovering her lost territories in co-operation with that Power whose interests do not conflict with those of China.

To us it is clear that Japan is the only Power which has vital interest in preserving China, because she does not want the Lion, Bear or Eagle at her door with a menacing attitude. China cannot very well antagonise Russia because of her geographical position and military strength. If China can make a friendly understanding with Japan then Russia by her present relation with Japan will not be able to encroach upon China's sovereignty at least for some time. And if the Chinese statesmen can secure the sincere support of Japan and Russia so that they will not further violate Chinese territorial integrity, then China can persistently and successfully hold up the policy of further concessions for any European Powers in the Chinese territory. In the future China will get considerable support from Germany, because probably she will not seek any Sphere of Influence in China for herself. China must not unnecessarily antagonise any of the European Powers; but her salvation lies in the foreign policy of elimination of all undue advantages and influences by the European powers as against others, and especially China. This can only be effected by adopting a slow process and by following the path of least resistance in co-operation with Japan. China's foreign policy, if China wants to save herself from the thraldom of Europe, must be in harmony with that of Japan. European nations will do their best to keep China away from Japan; and thus we hear the constant warning that "Japan is the menace of Asia." Let us hope that China, for her own sake and for the sake of Asian Independence, will not be led away by a spirit of antagonism to Japan.

Dr. Gilbert Reid, who has criticised very strongly the actions of the Japanese Government under Marquis Okuma, the late Premier, as being hostile to China's national entity, is ready to recognize the precedence of Japan in China over

that of Western nations. He has lately expressed himself thus:

"As an American, but one living in China, I offer no objection, and pass no criticism, and pour forth no 'vials of wrath,' should there be more friendship by the Chinese of all classes for the Japanese than that to Western peoples.

"Neither would I feel chagrined or wax wroth, if Japan should be allowed a preference over Western nations in *helping* China, in being a friendly guide in political regeneration and in industrial development. I am not one of those who cry out, as if in pain, 'If any country is to take care of China, I prefer England to Japan.' As between one outside country and another, China, being a very Oriental nation, may more naturally turn to Japan for counsel than to any one of our Occidental nations.

"For Japan to aspire to *leadership* in the reforms, enlightenment, and progress of China is a legitimate, a worthy ambition. I wish Japanese statesmen to have this ambition, and to circumscribe their activities to this which is worthy.

"What is objectionable, has made friction, and separates a natural companionship, may be summed up in three forms of the same idea, *political* domination, *military* occupation, *territorial* aggrandizement. Let Japanese statesmen eliminate from their political strategics these or other forms of spoliation, and they will find themselves at one bound inside the high walls of China's affections."

# CHAPTER II.

## IS JAPAN A MENACE TO ASIA?

### (a) Japanese Unpopularity

His Excellency Field-marshal Count Terauchi, the present Premier of Japan, has recently given out the bare outline of the Japanese foreign policy to win the confidence of the Japanese nation and that of the international community. He emphasizes the idea of Japan's loyalty to Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Russo-Japanese Convention, Franco-Japanese Agreement, Root-Takahira agreement between U.S.A. and Japan, and Japan's friendly attitude towards "our neighbour China." This is all well and good. But now-a-days much criticism is being showered upon Japan by the European and American Press and Japan's policy in the Orient has been regarded as a "Menace to Asia." Japan has been blamed for being too aggressive and for trying to hurt China's interests and sovereignty.

After the Sino-Japanese war and before the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war Japan had her greatest popularity among the British and American people, and then Japan used to be termed as the "England of Asia." But the pendulum of popularity began to swing further away from Japan after the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese war. For political reasons of bringing about a complete isolation of Germany, Great Britain made an Anglo-Russian Entente; but some of the Japanese statesmen interpret this move as a far-sighted action of British diplomacy so that Japan and Russia will not be in closer relation. Some of the Japanese statesmen believe that Japan could not get favorable terms in the Treaty of Portsmouth after the Russo-Japanese war

because the European nations, even her ally Great Britain along with U.S.A. did not like to see Japan too strong in Asia.

Just after the Russo-Japanese war many Britishers, specially those residing in Asia, began to feel badly about 'Japan as a World Power.' Though the British government with her usual prudence succeeded in carrying on friendly relations with Japan for Britain's Imperial interest, yet the public opinion was never completely in favor of Japan as a great World Power.

Even in 1904 the opinion as quoted below was cherished by many of the English people:—

"If Japan had China properly at her back she could dispense at once with the kind assistance of both England and America. It is not too much to say that Japan equipped in the manner in which she will be equipped ten years hence and with the full force of China behind her would be an instrument of aggression the like of which has never before been seen on this footstool.

"Although we have been foolish, the game still lies in our hands. In spite of what has happened, it is still for us to decide whether Asia shall continue her harmless speculations upon the Ultimate and the Universal, or whether she shall be roused, like some dull leviathan, and led by Japan against her ancient enemy, whom she could so crush and mangle by mere force of numbers. 'Asia is one.' If she knew her strength and knew the European weakness, which, by the way, the present war is rapidly teaching her, Asia for the Asiatics would become a '*fait accompli*' in far less time than the European arrogantly thinks for. Furthermore, we might hear something about 'Europe for the Asiatics' and the yoke might change necks.

"The spectacle of Japan administering thumps to Russia ought to be intolerable to European eyes. Russia after all, and in spite of her alleged barbarism and faithless-

ness, is a 'white nation.' It is not seemly that a yellow race, however plucky and however 'sturdy' should be permitted to bait her, at the time the other European Powers stand round and laugh. Every blow that falls on Russia means an incalculable loss to European prestige in the East. If it be essential that Russia should be made to evacuate Korea and Manchuria, she should be forced to do so by European and not Asiatic arms. Japan must be kept in her place if the peace of the world is to be safe-guarded. New brooms sweep clean, new world powers are apt to be a trifle heady.

"No doubt it is the intention of what is left of the old concert of Europe to permit Japan once again to take the nuts out of the fire. From the war which she is prosecuting with such vigour and enthusiasm it is possible that she may reap nothing but her expenses and a swelled head. The European Powers will be advised if they look to it that Japan feels the burden of victory as well as the glory of it. *The new world power notion should be knocked out of her forthwith. There cannot be a world power which is other than white.* Any deviation from this principle is the sure way to Armagedo... Our deadliest enemy in the Far East is not Russia but Japan, for she openly and avowedly acts herself out to be England in the Orient. Our bugles blow round the world, the tin trumpets of the Japanese can be very well done without."—"*The Truth About Japan,*" *by T. W. A. Crossland, London (1904), pp. 69-72.*

While anti-Japanese feeling was beginning to gain ground, the Japanese statesmen were even thinking to inaugurate an alliance of Great Britain, America and Japan.

"I understand that it is the policy of both the English and American Governments that they should keep up close and friendly relations, and I also understand this aspiration to be that of the thinking parts of both nations, an

aspiration towards which they have already succeeded in converting the vast bulk of their fellow countrymen. There may, perchance, be some trifling difference of feeling now and then between some particular individuals, but if there be such, they are, after all, like little differences of opinion between brothers and sisters or cousins. You cannot permanently or irrevocably cut the natural bond of Anglo-Saxon blood. Let, then, Great Britain be closely united with America, and allow Japan to stand by their side—it will be a sight worth seeing! Were England, America and Japan, I say, to stand thus together in the Far East, that fact alone could not but be a great bulwark for the preservation of permanent peace and furtherance of civilization, without in any way prejudicing the equitable rights and interest of other nations."—*Suyematsu: "The Risen Sun" (London) 1905, p. 11.*

But Japan was very sadly disappointed. She had to meet with humiliation from U. S. A. about the Japanese labor question. Canada also followed the same path; Australia, too, became loud to cry about the Japanese menace. Then U. S. A., apparently with British support, started the idea of neutralising Japanese railroads in Manchuria which was vigorously opposed by Japan and Russia, who formulated a policy of co-operation in 1910, July 4. Then came the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty and revision of Anglo-Japanese alliance. According to the latter Great Britain was not to help Japan in case of conflict between Japan and U. S. A., but Japan was bound to preserve peace in India. Japan began to see that she could not depend upon England, as England has at heart the feeling that Japan is the real enemy of England in the Far East since Russia has been checked by Japan. Mr. Putnam Weale saw the thing very clearly when he said: "The successful war which Japan fought has been the best educative step which has been necessary. It has finally

opened its eyes to the fact, however much the white world applaud the spectacle of David battling with a Goliath, when it comes to allowing David the same privileges as the ordinary whiteman in the other regions of the world, a universal shout forbids it. Japan was permitted to push back Russia but has since been taught that the citizenship of the world belongs to the whiteman and to the whiteman alone and that *Japanese destiny lies in Asia and nowhere else.* Common honesty therefore requires it to be now generally acknowledged that if the island empire of the East soon develops an intense eastern policy in Eastern Asia—and succeeds in binding Eastern Asia into one whole—one of the most powerful contributary causes must be sought in the attitude of the whiteman on the American shores of the Pacific, as well as that of the whites on Australian shores."

The same author in 1909 in a book on "Conflict of Color" speaks of Japan's mission in the following way:—"For having been the very first of all Asiatic Powers to win political equality with the white powers, the Japanese feel that to them belongs the proud privilege of leading that grand movement which has for its object the re-establishment of conditions which existed at one period of world's history—that is the absolute equality of men irrespective of their color or creed. That this is a work of gigantic proportions, Japanese statesmen well understand; but experience has shown them that if the final objective is never lost sight of, if work proceeds night and day, and if all the national energies are devoted towards the consummating the desired end, the impossible becomes in the end possible and is finally translated through persistence into reality."

Some of the far-sighted Japanese statesmen fully realize that she will have to fall back to Asian aid in case a combination of powers arises against her. So to them

the vital plank of Japan's policy is to establish a community of interests between all the yellow races (if not Asiatic people) and to begin with the strongest of them all—China. Japan faces the strongest opposition of Great Britain and U. S. A., both haters of Asiatic people. The strongest of all oppositions comes from Great Britain because her interest in Asia is immense.

"Of 967 millions living in Asia, only some 400 millions actually acknowledge the sway of the white conqueror, the other 568 millions are completely free. *And of these 400 millions who live in the subjected portions some 330 millions have England as overlord.*"

England wants China as her support against Japan, and Japan wants China as a co-worker to save Asia from the eternal aggression of the whitemen, but China is in a vacillating state and Japan cannot rest idle in the midst of uncertainties, so she has gone one step further—has made an alliance with Russia to aid her policy in China and has taken a threatening attitude towards China.

In this plight of China, who seemingly does not know where she stands and with whom she should side, the British and American papers are supporting China to be free from Japanese control or alliance, because they fear a Sino-Japanese combine. Mr. Putnam Weale, who is now avowedly anti-Japanese, in 1909 spoke plainly about this fear in the following way:—

"If China be permitted by fatuous diplomacy to make common cause with Japan, then from Saghalien to Cochin China—and later right down to Java and Sumatra—there will invariably be created in the course of time a yellow empire whose shores will be hostile to the whiteman. For the yellow world of Eastern Asia, should it ever be controlled from Tokyo as centre, may be counted upon deliberately to impose the same restrictions on the whiteman as the whiteman is beginning to impose on yellow-

man....What can very easily happen is that the federation of Eastern Asia and the yellow races will be so arranged as to exclude the whiteman and his commerce more completely than anyone has yet dreamt of. And this is equivalent to saying that the entire economic situation throughout the world is in danger of being radically altered and the present balance of power entirely upset from the fact that Eastern Asia, led by Japan, may step by step erect barriers so as to restrain the whiteman. The policy which Japan has already instituted in Formosa and Korea with such conspicuous success, she is beginning to carry out in Southern Manchuria. It is a very hard policy to fight, for it expresses itself in pseudo-European terms such as tariffs, police, preferential treatment, monopolies and other ingenious devices."

### (b) The Theory of Sphere of Influence in China and Japan's Position

"*The yellow world of Eastern Asia should it ever be controlled from Tokyo as centre may be counted upon deliberately to impose the same restrictions on the whiteman as the whiteman is beginning to impose on yellow man.*" This is the fear of the whiteman, and his well-conceived plan is that China should not be allowed to make common cause with Japan. Let us point out the attitude which every whiteman has been conscious of during the last three quarters of a century towards the Asiatic people.

"A policy rapidly taking place among the white races of the world, excludes the yellow races from five of the six continents, and from a portion of the sixth. Since 1848 Portugal has annexed approximately 800,000 square miles of territory; Belgium 900,000, Germany and Russia each 1,200,000, the United States 1,800,000, France 3,200,000, Great Britain 3,600,000, and the other white nations approximately 500,000 thus making 13,200,000 square miles

of territory directly annexed by white races during the last seventy years, an area three and a half times the size of Europe. The tendency at present is to exclude the Asiatic race from Europe, Africa, North America, South America, Australia and from Russian holding in Asia and to confine them to the southern portion of the last continent. The exclusion policy extends not only to the Chinese, Japanese and Malayans, but to the people of India."—"*China: An Interpretation*," *by Bishop J. W. Bashford p. 441. (1916)*

If to-day Japanese policy is aggressive, is it much more aggressive than that of the English, Russian, French or German? If not, then why is the clamor? These European nations have occupied all the best places of the earth and exclude others. When Japan, an Asiatic nation, makes progress, extends her commerce, and tries to extend her political influence, it is taken to mean a challenge to the European nations, especially to Great Britain, which has the largest interest in the Orient. Great Britain regards herself as the rightful mistress of the Orient and guardian of China; and certainly it is outrageous that Japan should show her audacity by interfering with this claim!

Let us also examine thoroughly the meaning of the doctrine of "Sphere of Influence" in China. Its true meaning is the recognition of the right of some dominant powers to undermine the political sovereignty of weak ones. That a strong power will act as a bully to the weak ones is against our creed, and so we protest against everything that can be construed as violation of China's sovereignty. As an American cannot agree to have any "Sphere of Influence" by Great Britain, Russia, Japan, Germany or any other nation, on American soil, so from the same standpoint of justice and fair-play no American can uphold this idea of "Sphere of Influence" in China. It is rather amusing that no one says a word against the European "Sphere of Influence" in China. Rather they all advocate it as a great

civilizing agent, and a sure mark of European race-authority. But the whole world is thundering denunciations against Japan. Political civilization of the west upholds the idea that the Orient should be kept under subjection. The total area of the Chinese Republic is about 4,300,000 sq. miles. Of this about 80% is regarded as "spheres of influence" of different nations, and the following table is to show the extent of spheres of influence of different nations:—

| *Great Powers* | *Spheres of Influence* and their area | | | *Percentage* of the *Chinese Republic* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| England | Szechuen | 218,000 | sq. miles | |
| | Tibet | 533,000 | ,, ,, | |
| | Provinces along Yangtse valley | 362,000 | ,, ,, | |
| | Total | 1,113,000 | | 27.8% |
| Russia | Outer Mongolia | 1,000,000 | sq. miles | |
| | Sinkiang | 548,000 | ,, ,, | |
| | ¾ of Manchuria | 273,000 | ,, ,, | |
| | Total | 1,821,000 | ,, ,, | 42.3% |
| France | Yunnan | 146,700 | sq. miles | 3.4% |
| Japan | South Manchuria | 90,000 | sq. miles | |
| | Eastern Inner Mongolia | 50,000 | ,, ,, | |
| | Fukien | 46,000 | ,, ,, | |
| | Total | 186,000 | ,, ,, | 4.3% |
| Germany | Shantung | 55,000 | sq. miles | 1.3% |
| | | | Total | 79.1% |

It is worthy of note that Germany had in China the least territory for her sphere of influence, though we hear so much about eternal "Hun Intrigue in China!" During recent times when China got money from America as a loan to build railroads, she could not do what she wanted to do in her country, just as she cannot make necessary developments in the "spheres of influence," without sanction of these Great Powers, so benevolent and merciful to China!

"Remember that it was not Japan which originated the idea of 'sphere of influence.' It was because European Powers were bent upon dividing up China into so many spheres of influence, that Japan was obliged to step in and take such measures as might be necessary to safe-guard her position in the Far East against any emergency that might arise from such an unhappy condition in China."—*Kawakami*.

It may not be that Japan is trying to expand in Eastern Asia to protect herself against European aggression, but it is certainly a fact that Japan's policy is nothing but following the footsteps of Great Britain, Russia, France, Germany and other European Powers. The European Powers clamor so much because they do not want to see an Asiatic competitor in the field of their monopoly of exploiting an Asiatic country. To the eyes of European nations, Japan is not only an up-start but a menace to their settled ambition; so they howl, and America as an adjunct of Anglo-Saxon policy has also joined in the cry of 'Menace of Japan.' If these European nations are so anxious for China's good, let each one of them follow the plan of America and give up their pretensions of "Sphere of Influence," and then they can morally and rightfully demand from Japan to stop her policy of aggression. Will that day ever come until China becomes a strong nation?

So far as I have fathomed the mystery of Japanese diplomacy in China I cannot find any idea of aggression against China. Japan knows well that her aggression will not be very welcome by the European Powers. Japanese statesmen all realize that "Japan is under treaty obligations with other nations of the earth to maintain the open door in Manchuria. In order to do this she is also under obligation to maintain the integrity of China. Japan joined the other nations of the earth in solemn treaty to this effect in 1900. She renewed the covenant with Russia in the treaty of

Portsmouth in 1905. Again she renewed this solemn promise with the United States in the Root-Takahira Agreement in 1908. She renewed it with Great Britain in her alliance in 1909, and in the renewal of that alliance in 1913. These five recent treaties (and probably the latest Russo-Japanese convention also) are a formal notice that the nations of the world will no more permit Japan to upset the balance of power and disturb the peace of the world by large aggressions in the Far East than they would permit a similar action through the seizure of Switzerland or Belgium or Holland by any European nation. If Japanese statesmen have a wise regard for the considerate opinions of mankind, they will pause long before attempting to set aside treaty obligations, and disturb the balance of power in such a way as to involve the nations of the earth in united struggle against herself. It is simply incredible that Western nations will sit idly by and permit Japan's attempt to secure the headship of the Chinese races in addition to her own, and to become the dominant power in the Pacific Basin for centuries."—"*China*: *An Interpretation*," *by Rev. J. W. Bashford.* (*1916*)

Thus if China ever loses any territory and Japan dares to absorb any part of China, then it will be by the silent sanction or active co-operation of European Powers who have already taken away so much territory from China.

### (c) Japan's Asiatic Policy and Historical Background

Prof. Roland G. Usher speaks of Japan's Asiatic policy in his well-known work, "*The Challenge of the Future*," published by Houghton Mifflin Co. (1916), in which the author advocates the absolute necessity of an Anglo-American Alliance. About Japan's Asiatic Policy he says:—

"The basic postulate of Japanese policy is the domination of Asia by Asiatics. The mere fact that the Japanese identify themselves with those Asiatics for whom dominion

is intended must not conceal from us the true breadth and significance of Japanese policies. They see populous countries, for the most part untrained in European methods of organized warfare and therefore incapable of resisting even moderate measures of coercion from Europe, upon whose rich resources and undeveloped markets the European has fixed his covetous eyes. They see their backwardness in mechanical and industrial development and the very real prosperity to be derived from their development in European fashion. They see a determination in European nations to perform these valuable services only after political privileges have been granted to them, which practically mortgage the independence and future liberty of the natives. Already India has been bought and sold; Indo-China and Burma, with the great islands of the sea, have fallen a prey; and China the most populous of all, the richest in natural resources, the least developed, the least capable of resistance, has also been marked by the spoiler. *Special privileges, extraterritorial rights, have been wrung from the Chinese and little secrecy has been made in Europe of the intentions of the great powers to prevent by combined action the loan to China of the necessary capital, raw material and engineering skill, except in exchange for political and financial concessions so extensive and elaborate that the Europeans would to all intents and purposes dominate that great empire.*

"Only one country in the Orient does not lie at the mercy of the Europeans, only one has possessed sufficient genius to adapt itself to western habits and methods, to develop within its territory an industrial organization so extensive and elaborate, an army and navy skilled in European methods without in any way compromising its political independence or territorial integrity. That nation regards itself as of necessity the trustee of the liberty of all Asiatics, the only state capable of loosening the greedy clutch upon the Asiatic future—Japan. It is a duty the

Japanese owe all Orientals, a trust which they must not neglect. It involves necessarily the ending of the dominion of Asia by Europe, the termination of special privilege in Asia for Europeans, the formulation in future of Asiatic policies in the interests of the Asiatic needs instead of in accordance with European ambitions.

"The Japanese, educated in western economics, history and ambitions, were not slow to discover the European tradition that in the profits of the Far Eastern trade lay the secret of the commercial preponderance of European nations over each other. Upon it has been built the Italian cities of the middle ages, Portugal of the fifteenth century, the wealth of Holland and the riches of England. On it would the Germans found a new empire; from it the United States suck prosperity. True or false, Europeans had believed that prosperity lay in access to this fabulous trade of the Far East and that the profits of developing preferential markets of Asia would spell the domination of Europe by the fortunate country whose diplomacy and military force could succeed in obtaining them. Why, asked the Japanese, should not the Asiatics achieve from the same trade the same prosperity and physical strength which the Europeans were so certain they could derive? Why should not the bulk of the profits from their own economics be possessed by the Asiatic nations?

"There should be in future no profits for the European capitalists beyond the normal rate of interest assured by the law of supply and demand. *Abnormal contracts secured by political pressure, concessions or mortgages of revenues of the oriental countries obtained by diplomacy would no longer be countenanced. Nor should any oriental country be allowed to grant European nations the right to interfere in its politics.* That this would involve interference with the domestic affairs of certain Asiatic countries, the Japanese realized; that it would spell in all probability actions against various

European nations which they would term aggression, the Japanese understood. It was an end obviously desirable, but attainable only with the assistance of time and favorable circumstances.

"The danger point of the situation lay in China. Obviously the hatred and suspicion of the Japanese in China made a voluntary alliance improbable, though it was doubtful if an alliance would serve the purpose. *The Japanese were agreed that they could not permit the Chinese to exercise their own sovereignty if it were to result in the establishment in China of a strong economic entity under European control.* However considerable may be the economic development of Japan, however successful her financial operations for the payment of her enormous debt owed to Europe, she could not expect to compete with the new entity which the European genius and capital can easily develop in China. The disparity in population, in area, in resources are so overwhelming that *Japan's own future could scarcely be considered secure if the concert of European powers was allowed to have its way in China. Such actions would ultimately transfer to Asia European quarrels and rivalries, invite warfare between various European States for the control of the Asiatic nations and postpone for a century or more Asiatic independence of Europe.* The outbreak of the European war gave the Japanese the opportunity to establish the necessary political relations with China.

"The defensive character of this policy is abundantly clear to the Japanese, who protest with a clear conscience a lack of aggressive purposes. They are able to extend to the Chinese statesmen definite pledges that the domination of China by Japan in the vulgar sense is not the object and never could be for them truly expedient. They point out that the disparity in size and resources of the two countries must always guarantee Chinese independence, must make Japanese control of the Chinese policies temporary. *Nor*

*does Japan apparently ask for herself that type of concession which she insists that the Chinese shall not make to the Europeans.* She merely demands that, if made at all, they shall be made to Japan herself. All existing possessions of Europeans must be left untouched for the present, though this will in probability be not dangerous. Although these strategic points furnish a basis for aggressive actions, so long as no aggression is undertaken, the continued possession by Europeans will not be vital. Until it becomes evident that the latter are about to undertake active measures, it can never be expedient for Japan or China to interfere with existing arrangements. They must stand upon the defensive and pledge peace and all existing rights in return for peace and a recognition of the rightfulness of the control of Asia in Asiatic interests.

"The Japanese correctly contend that the policy in no way threatens the territorial integrity, the political independence or prosperity of Europe or America. With legitimate ambitions it does not clash; with such access to Asiatic trade which is mutually advantageous it will not interfere. It does assail aggressive possessions and policies to which none of the foreign nations have any true right; it does intend to make impossible of attainment ambitions they have undoubtedly cherished. The two propositions are by no means contradictory. The defense of Asia against unjust oppression is certainly not an attack upon the legitimate ambitions or independence of America or Europe. It is easy to justify Japanese expansion as a truly peaceable, defensive movement for the furtherance of what might almost be called an altruistic conception of the Asiatic future, if we judge it by the logic the Europeans apply to their own relations."—*pp. 256-61.*

Since the Sino-Japanese war, there has arisen a party of Chinese patriots. Among them are many impractical young men who deliberately ignore all actual facts and

questions of interest governing world politics. They are guided by pure sentimentalism, and they hate the Japanese and regard every move of the Japanese statesmen with suspicion and distrust, and interpret every action as an ignoble attempt on the part of Japan to humiliate China. They class Japan as an active partner in all the conspiracies of the Western nations against China. It must be admitted, however, that this feeling of antipathy and distrust on the part of the Chinese, has been heightened by the haughty attitude of some of the Japanese, and the jingoists of the military party of Japan have also done much to foster it. These people seem to think that the Japanese are more European than Asiatic and so they must look to the Asiatic people with contempt as the Europeans do. *These people are a real menace to Asia and Japan.*

But I thoroughly agree with the conclusions of the French statesman and political scientist, M. Pierre LeRoy Beaulieu, as expressed in his book, "The Awakening of the East."

"Still, even now, Japan does not lose all hope of eventually obtaining a foothold upon the continent, but provided other powers do not handle China too roughly, she has no intention of interfering with her neighbour, certainly not to menace her integrity. She wishes only to consolidate her by augmenting at the same time her own influence, and would not intervene even if she thought the Celestial Empire in danger. From the view point of international politics, Japan is certainly a conservative element, but in the day of struggle, should it ever occur, she is destined to weigh very heavily in the scale, not only in the solution of the question of the Far East but also in the problem which rises behind it—that of supremacy in the Pacific..... But whatever may be the events which will eventually transpire, Japan apparently does not wish to precipitate a struggle, provided only that the maintenance of the *status quo* is not threatened by others."

Some Chinese patriots believe that Japan's desire to uphold the territorial integrity of China is pure hypocrisy, since Japan has never protested against the British, Russian, or any other foreign aggression in China, but has rather conspired with these Powers to get hold of certain territories in Korea, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia.

No student of actual politics has any doubt that at the time of these aggressions on the part of European Powers, Japan had no power to protest against them. She could have made no effective protest against such nations as England, Russia and France. In fact, Japan needed the co-operation of these very nations in order to preserve her own existence. From her previous experience, Japan knew that it would be futile to make any attempt to uphold the integrity of China, unless she had the power to enforce her demands. She had no power to force these intruders to obey the dictates of justice.

Let us consider what happened after the Sino-Japanese war, and the First Treaty of Shimonoseki (1895) when Russia, Germany and France espoused the cause of China: "These war-like demonstrations (of Russia after the Treaty of Shimonoseki, 1895) presented a singular contrast to the extremely courteous tone of the notes presented to Japan by Russia, France and German ministers. They had the effect of convincing Japan that she had in the future to contend with the lasting hostility of the Tsar, and the secret desire of the government of St. Petersburg was not only to prevent her establishing herself on the Asiatic continent, but also eventually to completely annihilate her. By a curious right-about face, Japan now turned toward China, who received her overtures favorably. The fact was, that at Peking, the pretensions of Russia had created great alarm, and Li Hung-Chang opened his heart to the Japanese consul at Tientsin, and begged the cabinet of Tokyo to give a conciliatory

answer with respect to the question of Liaotung, and solve it in a friendly manner and thereby avoid increasing the responsibilities which weighed upon his shoulders. The Chinese government was entirely at the mercy of the Russians, and could only be saved by Japan. . . . One thing is certain, the Tsung-li Yamen proposed that the Japanese minister, M. Hayashi, should negotiate directly and offer as a compensation for Liaotung not an indemnity, but an alliance with China and a concession for the railway to be built between Tientsin and Peking. The government of the Mikado was inclined to accept this solution, but three continental Powers, especially Russia, did not view the matter favorably. They wished, for better security, that Japan should not be subjected to causes elaborated to prolong matters and, above all, a cession of the continuance of the Japanese occupation of Korea. They therefore insisted that the matter should be settled at once by the payment of a supplementary indemnity of 30,000,000 taels or £4,500,000 payable on Nov. 18th, 1895, the Japanese evacuation to take place within three months. . . . .

"The attempt at a reconciliation and an alliance with the Celestial Empire had failed, but since then the language of the Japanese press and of many of her statesmen proves that at Tokyo this idea had not been abandoned, and if they have not been able to confiscate China to the advantage of the Mikado, the Japanese wish to see her placed in a position to resist the pressure of other powers, and to exist by her own resources. On the payment of the indemnity, Japan endeavored to obtain from China a formal promise that she would never cede to any other power her territories which she had been obliged to restore. But the Russian influence was already too firmly established and the promise was refused!"—"*The Awakening of the East*," *by M. Pierre LeRoy Beaulieu, p. 251.*

This shows that through China's and Japan's weakness, though the Mikado's government under the leadership of the late Prince Ito and the government of the Celestial empire under the leadership of Li Hung-Chang were anxious to bring about an alliance, it could not be done. The most tragic part of the whole affair was that China was not allowed by the unseen mailed fist of the European Powers even to make an agreement with Japan that any part of Liaotung Peninsula which was given back to China by Japan should not be given away to any European Power.

After this incident the famous Cassini Convention took place. The *North China Herald* of March 27, 1896, gives the text of this secret treaty between Russia and China in the following way:

"In recognition of the service rendered by Russia regarding the matter of the Liaotung Peninsula and of the loan, the Chinese Emperor desired to conclude with Russia a treaty of alliance; and consequently, it was agreed in secrecy, that, if Russia should come in conflict with other Asiatic Powers, she should be allowed to make free use of any port or harbour on the Chinese coast, and in case of urgent need, levy troops among the Chinese people. If a protest should be made by other powers, China should answer that she was powerless to resist Russian demands. If she should desire to render active assistance to Russia, against the common enemy, she might do so, but this point required further discussion. In view of the great disadvantages of the ice bound naval harbours of Russia, China agreed to allow her in time of peace free use of Port Arthur; or if the other Powers should object, of Kiaochow. If the latter should be found inadequate, Russia might choose any harbour on the coast of Kiangsu and Chekiang. If, on the other hand, China should be at war with another Power, Russia should endeavour to effect a compromise

between the belligerents, and if the effort should fail, it should be the duty of Russia openly to assist China and thereby strengthen the alliance between the two Powers. In regard to Manchuria, Russian military officers should be free to travel along the eastern frontiers of the Sheng-King and Kirin Provinces and to navigate the Yalu and other rivers, the object being either to further trade or to patrol the frontiers. When the Siberian Railway was completed, a branch line might be constructed under the joint control of China and Russia, through the Provinces of Heilung and Kirin and reaching Talien or some other place selected by Russia. In order to protect this line, Russia might possess near Talien-wan an island and the opposite shore, fortify them, and station there her squadron and military forces. If a war should arise between Russia and Japan concerning Korea, China should allow Russia to send her troops toward the Yalu, so as to enable them to attack the western boundary of Korea."—*pp. 85-87 "The Russo-Japanese Conflict," by Prof. K. Asakawa (1904).*

It is my firm conviction, and I have weighty reasons to believe, that though Japan hated to see these rich territories like Mongolia and Tibet practically usurped by Russia and Great Britain respectively, yet she was bound hand and foot not to make any move against such usurpation. Any person, who has any idea about the actual political situation in the Far East, knows well that the strengthening of Russia in the Far East meant challenge to Japanese supremacy in the Pacific. But Japan was not in a position to fight Russia in the face of the Anglo-Russian Entente, and she was in no position to denounce the British violation of territorial integrity of China by practical occupation of Tibet, because British support and good-will to Japan was a very important factor in preserving her supremacy in Korea. From a practical standpoint the preservation of

Japanese supremacy in Korea was essential to Japanese independence.

As early as 1899 Japan and China wanted to be in alliance but China's European friends stood in the way. "*In the same interval (1899) an attempt was made (by Japan) to enter into alliance with China, for the purpose of checking Russian aggression in Manchuria. A Chinese Prince visited Tokyo for the purpose, but was compelled to return without accomplishing anything, the Tsung-li-Yamen, as a consequence of Russian pressure on Peking, recalling its envoy.*"—"*A Political History of Japan During the Meji Era,*" *by Prof. Dr. Walter Wallace McLaren, (1916) p. 259.*

From this it is absolutely clear that Japan sought European co-operation to strengthen her position against aggressions of other Powers, when she found that China had no free-will of her own, even in matters of preservation of her own territorial integrity. About the question of territorial integrity of China Marquis Okuma said in 1896: "The Chinese problem is for Japan a permanent one, *and it will not be solved until China strengthens herself to the point of making further aggression impossible*, for to expect that the Powers who have agreed to respect the integrity of the Middle kingdom would do more than they did in Korea's case is quixotic, to say the least."—*Ibid. p. 314.*

"Japan does not wish to see China dismembered, nor does she desire to become director of China. She prefers that China should be sufficiently strong to govern herself and be independent of others. Japan has shown her sympathy with the reform movement in China by giving advice and offering all possible assistance to the new President and his government. Japan would like to get China....into line with the modern world. But whatever irresponsible Japanese chauvanists may say, the policy of Japan with regard to China remains based upon the independence of that empire."—*Robert Machray, "Japan's Part in the*

*War."* (*The Nineteenth Century and After. Sept. 1916. pp. 531-542.*)

### (d) Japan in Korea

The greatest charge against Japan, as enemy of Asia, is that she has annexed Korea and thus has proved unfaithful to the cause of Asia. No lover of liberty can support the condition of loss of independence of the Korean people as an ideal thing. But it is quite obvious that in case Korea had been left free to herself, then she would have been a prey to Russia; even China could not preserve Korean independence from Russian aggression. But Korea under Russia meant a menace to Japan. Russia's aggressive motive in Korea was not an imaginary one. "Russian aggression in the Far East was an ever present nightmare to the Japanese statesmen throughout the first decade of the Emperor's reign (Meji Era). Russia had, in Japan's own case, when she was distracted by civil war and had not even the semblance of a navy, actually attempted to lay hands on the islands of Tsushima, and was only prevented from carrying her designs further by the British fleet. Russia has also given evidence that in her lust of territory she did not consider the island of Yezo beyond the possibility of acquisition. She had profited by the weakness and ignorance of China to extend her continental possessions down to the very frontier of Korea, but she still wanted a sea outlet. To gain that, no difficulty, no use of force that promised success would be spared. Korea, isolated, ignorant and weak, with her splendid ice-free harbours, offered all and more than could be desired, and was a tempting morsel to the insatiable appetite of the Czar, too great a temptation to be resisted when the time came, unless Russia was assured that yielding to it would cost more than it was worth. *Korea's fate was, on the other hand, of as vital importance to the future national security of Japan in the eyes of her statesmen as were, not to say Afghanisthan*

*and Egypt, but Ireland, to Great Britain. Her incorporation by a strong military and aggressive Western Power would be as great a threat to the independence and national security of Japan as would Ireland, independent or under the influence of a hostile power, be to the safety of the British Empire."—"Story of Korea" by J. W. Longford (1911), page 301.*

If Russia with her 135 millions of population had her naval base at Fushan--10 hours' steamer-ride from Shimonoseki,—then certainly the situation would not have been very assuring as far as Japanese independence was concerned. So by taking Korea, Japan has not only made herself secure against Russia, but she has saved China from further Russian aggression. Let us suppose that during this war or afterwards Germany should adopt a systematic plan of conquering Canada, and Canada should be as weak as Korea was to protect herself. Conquest of Canada by Germany or increase of political influence of Germany in Canada can never be tolerated by U.S.A. So in this case U.S.A. will try to offset German menace by any means, and she will be justified in doing so. Let us take another case: Mexico, being quite unfriendly to U.S.A., starts to intrigue with Great Britain and plans to give the latter several strategic naval bases, menacing U.S.A. This kind of action will be at once regarded as menace to U.S.A., and she will be justified in conquering and annexing Mexico to strengthen her position and ward off the pretensions of Great Britain. Great Britain justifies her aggressive actions against Persia and Tibet on the mere ground that if Southern Persia, the Persian gulf, or Tibet, be under Russian influence, then it will menace India, the jewel of the British Empire. How then can Japan be blamed in her actions in Korea? There cannot be two different standards of practical politics, one for European nations, and the other for Japan.

Really Japan has taken away Korea from Russia; and undoubtedly Japan has given Korea a better administration

than Russia could have ever given. Korea is being developed for the benefit of the Japanese and Koreans and other nations. The Japanese government in Korea is not a perfect one, but during my visit to Korea I could not find any regulations for encouraging the growing of the poppy, and thus the production of opium is less flagrant than in India, even in the twentieth century, after more than a hundred years of British suzerainty. While China is suppressing the Opium habit among her people, consumption of opium is actually increasing in some parts of India. Pray tell us, why are you so silent about India's condition and so loud about Korea? Is it because the former belongs to England, and the latter to Japan?

According to British authorities like Sir William Digby, Hyndman, Kier Hardie, O'Donerel, Webb Naoroji and others, England takes away from India about £20,000,000 annually as mere home charges alone, whereas Japan spends money from the Japanese treasury[1] to develop Korea. There is constant famine and plague in India. Over 7,000,000 people have died in plague during the last fifteen years, longevity of the people of India has decreased, the death-rate has increased, but there is nothing like that in Korea.

It is very interesting to note that the Japanese delegation to the International Opium Commission, 1909, made the official statements, "that, (1) there is nothing to justify the assumption that opium is produced at all in any part of Korea; (2) According to the Treaties concluded between Korea and the Powers, importation of opium other than for medicinal purposes is prohibited; (3) according to the article 659 of the Penal Code of Korea, a person found guilty of importing, manufacturing, selling or smoking

(1) Vide :—1. Results of Three Years' Administration of Chosen Since Annexation (1914).
2. Progress of Chosen During the Past Five Years.

opium, is liable to imprisonment, with hard labor for a term of three years."—"*Report of International Opium Commission*," *Vol. II, p. 292.*

The British delegate, Mr. J. B. Brunyate, in his report, presented on the same occasion, shows that the "Indian government derived a revenue of nearly £1,000,000 a year from the use of opium within India itself. . .The total revenue derived from reports during the last two or three years, before the reductions began to be effected in co-operation with China, had been 3¾ millions sterling annually."

"Thus at the end of ten years (1917) when the Agreement would have produced its full intended effect, the permissible export of India Opium to countries other than China would stand at a fixed maximum of 16,000 chests a year."

"The private possession of opium by individuals was limited in the majority of provinces (of India) to 540 grains and in few provinces to 900 grains, while no person (except in Burmah) was allowed to possess smoking preparations of opium, even prepared by himself, in excess of 180 grains weight."—"*Report of International Opium Commission.*" *Vol. I, pp. 24-25. (1900).*

In this connection we must record that, though we hear so much against Germany now-a-days and the words Barbarians and Huns have become by-words for the Germans, yet in the international opium congress of 1909, the German representative could say that "The cultivation of the poppy is prohibited in the protectorate (applicable to Kiaochow). Any poppy grown contrary to this provision shall be destroyed."—*Ibid, Vol. II, p. 154.*

In the International Commission Rev. Dr. Tenny of the American delegation presented a resolution: "Be it resolved that in the opinion of the International Opium Commission every nation which effectively prohibits the

production of opium and its derivatives in that country, except for medical purposes, should be free to prohibit the importation into its territories of opium or its derivatives, except for medical purposes."

In support of the resolution Dr. Tenny said: "The existing Treaties prevent China from exercising her right as a Sovereign Power to act for the protection of her own people. The consciousness of this limitation acts as a paralysis on the minds of Chinese reformers. Rightly or wrongly it turns into pessimists multitudes who would otherwise be working with enthusiasm for the regeneration of their country. This I know by abundant evidence.

"Gentlemen, I wish to say clearly and deliberately that in our opinion it is a disgrace to modern civilization that such a condition should be allowed to continue."—*Ibid, Vol. I. pp. 53-55.*

Germany alone, except China, of all the nations assembled, supported the proposal.

Only those who have not got a clear conception of Far Eastern politics blame Japan alone for the annexation of Korea; but the real fact is that this has been done with the complete understanding and approval of Great Britain. Even Japan's claim to Manchuria is due to British support. This can be well understood if one only compares the texts of the first and second Anglo-Japanese alliance. According to the preamble of the document signed in 1902, "The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, actuated solely by a desire to maintain the *status quo* and general peace in the Extreme East, being moreover specially interested in maintaining the independence and the territorial integrity of the Empire of China and the Empire of Korea, and in securing equal opportunities in those countries for commerce and industry of all nations, hereby agree as follows, etc., etc." This shows that both the High Contracting Parties came to an agreement, to keep Korea

out of Russian influence. When Russia was defeated in 1905, the situation changed. In the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1905 the question of Korea was altogether dropped and the question of India was included. The preamble of the second Anglo-Japanese Alliance is as follows:— "The Governments of Great Britain and Japan, being desirous of replacing the agreement concluded between them on the 30th of January, 1902, by fresh stipulations have agreed upon the following articles which have for their object: (a) consolidation and maintenance of general peace in the regions of eastern Asia and India; (b) The preservation of all interests of all powers in China by insuring the independence and integrity of the Chinese Empire and the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in China; (c) the maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India and the defense of their special interests in the said regions." In plain language it meant that Russia, being defeated in her ambitions in Korea and Manchuria, might look forward towards India for her field of expansion, or towards those regions in Asia which have been regarded by the British as their "Sphere of Influence," such as Tibet and Southern Persia. So British diplomacy sought Japan's co-operation and agreed that Great Britain would support Japan in her action of annexing Korea and in her claims in the north-eastern part of the Chinese Empire, provided Japan would protect India against all emergencies. Japan, alone, is not to be blamed for the annexation of Korea. Japan's actions in Korea and Eastern Asia were in the past, and would be in the future, a mere reflex of the world-policy of the European Powers and America. For the sake of the cause of Asian Independence, we must seek from Japan a change in her policy, so that China can give her adequate support in maintaining with dignity the position of both countries in the field of world-politics.

The Indian leaders who have intimate knowledge of world-politics well understand that Japan for her self-preservation had to agree with Great Britain "to maintain peace in India." But what was essential in 1905 is not at all even necessary in 1917, especially after the war. Japan should think seriously before she pledges herself to maintain peace in India. Japan should keep her hands free regarding the aspiration of 315 millions of people of Asia. England cannot give anything to Japan for thwarting and crushing Indian aspirations. If Japan does this, she incurs the displeasure of the people of that country, which to-day forms a great market for her goods and may serve in future as a source of strength in case of conflict with other nations. Poor dependent India showed her share of practical sympathy during the Russo-Japanese War by sending funds to meet Japanese needs. Japan also should not forget that the India of 1917, is not the same India as that of 1905. Japan should not, for her own interest, act as a watch-dog of Great Britain against the cause of Independent India. From Independent India Japan has much to gain and nothing to lose; by strengthening British supremacy in India, Japan strengthens her greatest opponent—Great Britain—in the field of political and commercial supremacy in Asia and also in the control of the Pacific.

There are some sincere friends of India who are constantly warning the Indian people not to trust Japan, because they say that Japan wishes to replace British supremacy in India by her own, and Japanese rule in India will be much more tyrannical than the British. If there is such a party in Japan who cherishes this wild dream, it should not forget, first, that India is not Korea; secondly, that the India of the twentieth century is not the India of the eighteenth century; thirdly, that the Indian people are anxious for their freedom, but will never welcome the Japanese or any other yoke in place of the present one; and, lastly,

that Japan will have to prepare herself to measure her own strength against the whole world—not only Europe but also America and China—to fulfil her ambition. We do not see any reason for the international possibility that Japan will ever be able to assume overlordship of China and India, and it is our belief that she has no such ambition.

### (e) An Aspect of Japanese and Russian Policies in China

The Japanese occupation of Tsingtao and the violation of the neutrality of China, have aroused a very bitter feeling among the Chinese people. The Japanese attitude in violating the Chinese neutrality cannot be consistently upheld by anybody, especially by those who condemn the German attitude towards Belgium. But this act has come to pass with the silent sanction of the great Powers of the world. Severe critics of Japanese policy towards China should better compare the Japanese declaration regarding Kiaochow made in Peking, May 25, 1915, with the clauses of thē Russo-Mongolian Agreement of November 3, 1912.

Japanese declaration regarding Kiaochow:—

"If, upon the conclusion of the present war, the Japanese government should be given an absolutely free disposal of the leased territory of Kiaochow Bay, they will return the said territory to China subject to following conditions:—

"1. Opening of the whole of Kiaochow as commercial port.

"2. Establishment of Japanese settlement in the locality to be designated by the Japanese government.

"3. Establishment, if desired by Powers, of an international settlement.

"4. Arrangements to be made, before the return of the said territory is effected between the Japanese and the Chinese governments, with respect to the disposal of

German public establishments and properties with regard to condition and procedures."—*p. 589, Japan Year Book, 1916.*

The Russo-Mongolian Agreement of Nov. 3, 1912, was brought about to destroy Chinese sovereignty in Mongolia, while China was busy with the work of reconstruction after the revolution. According to Article I of the said Agreement China loses Mongolia; the Chinese people will not even have the right of colonising in Mongolia. "The Imperial Russian Government shall assist Mongolia to maintain the autonomous regime which she has established as also the right to have her national army and to admit neither the presence of the Chinese troops on her territory *nor the colonization of her land by the Chinese.*"

But this is not all and let us quote some of the articles of the protocol annexed to the Russo-Mongolian Agreement:—

"Art. I. Russian subjects as formerly shall enjoy the right to reside and move freely from one place to another throughout Mongolia, to engage there in every kind of commercial, industrial and other business and to enter into agreements of various kinds whether with individuals or firms or institutions, officials or private, Russian, Mongolian, Chinese or foreign.

"Art. II. *Russian subjects, as formerly, shall enjoy the right at all times to import and export without payment of import and export dues every kind of product and industry of Russia, Mongolia and China and other countries and trade freely in it without any duties, taxes or other dues. The enactment of this second article shall not extend to combined Russian-Chinese undertakings or to Russian subjects falsely declaring themselves to be owners of wares not their property.*

"Art. XIII. Russian subjects shall have the right to avail themselves of all land and water rates for the carriage of wares and the droving of cattle, and upon agree-

ment with Mongolian authorities, they may construct at their own cost, bridges, ferries, etc., with the right to extract special dues from persons crossing over."

From this it is absolutely clear that Japanese policy towards China is less disastrous than that of Russia. China in 1912 was passing through a period of reconstruction after the overthrow of the dynasty, and Russia as a friendly power took steps by which the Chinese republic lost one of her most valuable provinces. Did, then, any of the European Powers or America take any effective measures to preserve the territorial integrity of China and the open door in Mongolia? No, because it was done by a European Power. The Japanese demand of establishing police-control over a certain zone of Manchuria has attracted considerable attention in China and abroad. In this connection it is desirable to remember that Japan's action may be actuated by the idea of preventing further Russian aggression in Manchuria. The late Li Hung-Chang in his memoirs disclosed that as early as 1895 Russia made a proposal to lease Liaotung peninsula.

Though the Japanese and Russian governments are now on very friendly terms, that does not at all prove that Russia has abandoned her ambitions in Manchuria. But very little notice has been given to the most far-reaching demands of Russia to the effect that in future representatives from Mongolia should not be allowed to sit in the Chinese Parliament. Japan's demand indicates that she wants special privilege of police-control in certain parts of Manchuria, whereas if China be forced to submit to Russia's recent demands, it will mean complete separation of Mongolia from China and thus the loss of the last vestige of Chinese supremacy in Mongolia. As Great Britain and Russia are working in concert in Tibetan questions, it is beyond any doubt that as soon as China will submit to Russia's demands, Great Britain will make

similar demands about Tibet; in fact the present demands of Great Britain regarding Tibet are detrimental to Chinese interest.

We have heard so much of the "Open Door Policy" in China. This policy has been persistently advocated by America. America is decidedly China's great friend. But when we examine the breadth of this policy we have to say that this policy is not to serve China's interest to the fullest extent. Prof. Usher has rightly said: "In our position the Asiatics read an intention to share in the exploitation of Asia by white races. Our policy of 'Open Door' they see as the white man's policy for claiming for us in Asia the same privileges other white men have but not claiming similar privileges for the Asiatics for the control of their own trade which all European nations enjoy."

If the doctrine of 'Open Door' in China is to have any value to China it must have to be applied in the sense of 'no special privilege for any foreign nation in China', and then the advocates of this doctrine can get hearty support from all Asia. "If we (Americans) promulgate once more the doctrine of the 'Open Door' in the sense of no privilege in Asia for any foreign nation we shall meet with a most enthusiastic response from the Orientals and will adopt for our policy that notion of relationship most acceptable to the Far East."

But as the facts stand, Americans and Europeans do not often say much against the special privileges of European Powers in China, but they are always ready to attack Japan. Is it because, as Sir Harry Johnston pointed out, "the real gospel of the mass of Christians in Europe and North America is the undisputed supremacy of the white man, of the nominal Christian white man in every sphere of life and all continents"? Most probably the European and American attitude towards this question is consciously or unconsciously based upon the idea that it is desirable that "Christian precepts will ultimately conquer precepts that are non-

Christian and the result is that the Christian people of the world ..... are the masters of the planet. They absolutely dominate all the continents and in their hands at present lies the future of the earth for good."—*Sir Harry Johnston.*

Over-enthusiasm of the missionaries in China to condemn Japan and their marked silence about the wrong-doings of white nations make us feel that the preachers of the Gospel are often possessed with the idea of the 'God-ordained mission of the white man to rule the world,' but we can hardly subscribe to the soundness of this creed. We realize that since the beginning of industrial revolution in Europe, the Western people have outstripped the Orientals in fields of material progress and scientific achievements. We admire them for their great achievement. We should learn all that is best in the world; and for this reason must send out the most capable and worthy sons and daughters of the Orient to America, Germany, France, England and other progressive countries. And at the same time we must jealously guard against acquisition of undue political and economic privileges by any Western Power in any Asiatic Country.

### (f) An Aspect of Sino-British Relations

It is known to all that Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet were tributary to China, but at the present time Great Britain has made herself overlord in these countries; only in Tibet has China partial control.

The method adopted by the British government to gain this end is clearly explained in the "British Blue Books" and I quote certain paragraphs about the Sikkim affair which will conclusively prove that the British method has been the indirect policy of extension. The British government first tries to give the impression that she has no political motive, after which she makes some advantageous treaty, and then employs hired agents in the government of these weak nations to absorb slowly the territory.

An extract from The Despatch of Hon. A. Eden, Envoy and Special Commissioner to Sikkim, to the Secretary of the government of Bengal (dated 8th April, 1861):—

"Para. 35—The instructions under which I acted enabled me *from the very first to give the most solemn assurances that we did not wish to retain possession of any portion of Sikkim territory;* and I attribute it entirely to the confidence which was placed in these assurances that the surrounding states held aloof altogether from the quarrel. Nepal is tributary to China, Tibet is tributary to China, and Sikkim and Bhutan are tributary to Tibet, and therefore secondary to China. Had these states not distinctly understood that we were not advancing with any intention of annexation, it is impossible to believe, but that with such combination of interests, they would all have joined to oppose us, if not avowedly at least secretly."

This tells us of the first step in the indirect method of British diplomacy through which China has lost her territories.

An extract from the treaty between Sikkim and the government of India (16th day of April, 1861):—

"Art. 17. The government of Sikkim engages to abstain from any acts of aggression or hostility against any of the neighbouring states which are allies of the British government. If any dispute or question arises between the people of Sikkim and those of neighbouring states, such disputes or questions shall be referred to the arbitration of the British government, and the *Sikkim government agrees to abide by the decision of the British government.*

"Art. 18. *The whole military force of Sikkim shall join and afford every aid and facility to British troops when employed in the hills.*

"Art. 19. *The government of Sikkim engages not to give lease of any portion of its territory to any other state without the permission of the British government.*

"Art. 22. *With a view to the establishment of efficient government in Sikkim, and to the better maintenance of friendly relations with the British government, the Raja of Sikkim agrees to move the seat of his government from Tibet to Sikkim and reside there for nine months in the year. It is further agreed that a vakeel shall be accredited by the Sikkim government who shall reside permanently at Darjeeling.*"

This is the second step of making an advantageous treaty to destroy true sovereignty of the state and suzerainty of China under the cloak of friendship.

Para. 44 of Hon. A. Eden's Report of April 8, 1861:—

"In conclusion, I must place on record the great obligations under which I am to Cheeboo Lama, who supplied a large number of coolies and accompanied me throughout. He is universally respected by the Palcha population and trusted by the Rajah. Without his aid I should have had very great difficulty in dealing with the people of the country. He is the most intelligent and enlightened native whom I have ever met. He has travelled much in Tibet..... .....He is the most influential adviser of the Present Raja, and it is mainly through his good counsels that the Raja has agreed to throw his country open. *He is now the Raja's Dewan, and his employment in that position is an ample proof of future good conduct of the Sikkim government. So long as he remains in that post there is no fear of any policy being adopted hostile to British interest.*"

This is the third step of using an official of the state as one of the British agents to secure her end. If the Raja's Dewan or minister was not a mere tool of the British, then he could not have been allowed to hold such a position.

Careful study of the British Blue Books on Tibet shows that the real motive of the British government in undertaking the Tibetan expedition under Col. Younghusband

was not merely to facilitate trade relations but to bring Tibet under British control. When His Excellency Tong Shao-yi, Vice-President of the Board of Foreign Affairs of China, wanted to pay the indemnity for Tibet and to act in such a way that China's suzerainty in Tibet be not impaired, then the British government absolutely refused to negotiate with the Chinese authorities unless China would acknowledge the validity of the Anglo-Tibetan Convention concluded on Sept. 7th, 1904.

Let us quote a part of the text of the Anglo-Chinese Agreement concerning Tibet (signed at Peking, April 27, 1906).

"Art. I. The Convention concluded on Sept. 7, 1904, by Great Britain and Tibet is hereby confirmed, subject to the modification stated in the declaration appended thereto, and both of the high contracting parties engage to take at all times such steps as may be necessary to secure the due fulfilment of terms specified therein.

"Art. II. The government of Great Britain engages not to annex territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet. The government of China also undertakes not to permit any other foreign state to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet.

"Art. III. The concessions which are mentioned in Art. IX (d) of the convention concluded on Sept. 7, 1904, by Great Britain and Tibet are denied to any state or to the subject of any state other than China, but it has been arranged with China that at the trade marts specified in Art. II of the aforesaid Convention Great Britain shall be entitled to lay down telegraph lines connecting with India." —*China Year Book, 1916, pp. 607-608.*

In this connection let us note the important articles VIII and IX of the Anglo-Tibetan Convention of 7th Sept., 1904.

"Art. VIII. *The Tibetan government agrees to raze Forts and fortifications and remove all armaments which might impede the course of free communications between the British frontier and the town of Gyangtse and Lhasa.*

"Art. IX. The government of Tibet engages that, WITHOUT THE PREVIOUS CONSENT of the British government:—

(a) *No portion of Tibetan territory shall be ceded, sold, leased, mortgaged or otherwise given for occupation, to any Foreign Power.*

(b) *No such Power shall be permitted to interfere in Tibetan affairs.*

(c) *No representatives or agents of any foreign Power shall be admitted to Tibet.*

(d) *No concessions for railways, roads, telegraphs, mining, or other rights shall be granted to any foreign Power, or the subject of any Foreign Power. In the event of consent to such concessions being granted, similar or equivalent concessions shall be granted to the British government;*

(e) *No Tibetan revenues, whether in kind or in cash, shall be pledged or assigned to any foreign Power, or to the subject of any foreign Power.*"—*Ibid, pp. 609-610.*

These articles conclusively prove that the object of Great Britain was to reduce Tibet as one of her dependencies and even to exclude Chinese representatives from Tibet.

But according to Art. II of the Agreement Between Great Britain and Russia concerning Tibet concluded in Aug., 1907, Great Britain and Russia both recognized Chinese suzerainty in Tibet.

"Art. II. In conformity with the admitted principle of the suzerainty of China over Tibet, Great Britain and Russia engage not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese government, etc."

As soon, however, as China showed ability in maintaining her suzerainty in Tibet, the British government had to find out a pretext to send a punitive expedition called the Abohr Expedition. This expedition's immediate object was to punish the tribes for killing a British official who was there for spying purposes, but the real object was to extend British influence and sovereignty. This can be substantiated by extracts from the despatches published in the British Blue Book on Abohr Expedition of 1911.

"From Secretary of State for India to Viceroy dated 24th July, 1911:—

"I approve punitive measures against the Abohrs on the lines you recommend. In addition I agree that with a view to obtaining information requisite for the determination of a suitable frontier, the opportunity should be taken to carry on survey and exploration in the Abohr country."

Abohr country is decidedly beyond the British jurisdiction. So this is the policy of "Extension of Frontier" under the pretext of a punitive expedition and also making survey for military purposes.

### An Extract

"From the Government of India to the Secretary for India dated September 21, 1911:—

"We would observe in this connection that the unusual political activity displayed by China in recent years along our border, the claims which she has advanced to suzerainty over Nepal and Bhutan, her effective occupation of Tibet and the despatch of a force to Rima in the immediate vicinity of Mishmi Country, have introduced a disquieting factor into the case. During the past few months there have been further developments in this policy of expansion which it is impossible to ignore. In this circumstance it must be recognized that a new situation has arisen, and that our relations with the tribes must be

brought into accord with existing conditions. We do not, however, propose to extend a guarantee of protection to the tribes; *but we should make both the Abohrs and Mishmis understand in no manner of doubt as to their being under us* or as to their having to look to us for future reward or punishment according to their conduct."

This is the policy of counteracting Chinese influence among the border tribes residing on the Chinese frontier, at any cost.

**An Extract:—**

"The principal tribes, from West to East on this portion of northeastern India, are (1) Twang, Chanduar and Thebengia Bhutia, (2) Akas, (3) Daflas, (4) Miris, (5) Abohrs and (6) Mismis. The Towaung, Charduar, and Thebengia Bhutias, the Akas and the Abohrs *receive annual allowances or 'posa' either in cash or kind from us;* the Chanduar Bhutias and Akas have pledged themselves never to join any parties who are enemies of British government but to oppose them in every way in their power; but none of the tribes has definitely engaged not to hold intercourse with foreigners."

Of course it is too apparent that the Chinese are the only possible foreigners who may have intercourse with these tribes and Chinese are the neighbouring people who are to all intents and purposes regarded as enemies if they be so anxious to control their own frontier tribes. Now here we have the process of bribing the tribes against China.

"Our future policy would be to cultivate friendly relations with the tribesmen, and in the event of our demarcating our external limit, we should explain that we regard it as the line within which no Chinese officials should come and that we should periodically send a small police column to visit their country."

This is undoubtedly the last step of establishing British sovereignty in *de facto* manner in the territories lying on the Chinese frontier.

We have just noticed that the established policy is that within a certain area no Chinese officials should be allowed to enter, but we will see now that the British officials often go for military espionage in the Chinese territory.

"From Government of Eastern Bengal to Government of India, April 22, 1911:—

"Mr. Williamson has recently made a most successful tour to within 42 miles of Rima, during which he obtained valuable information of the doings of the Chinese. It is probable that having successfully obtained such important information with regard to East of Sadiya, the Asst. Political Officer thought that he would be able to do the same on the Abohr side."

But these secret methods of undermining Chinese suzerainty in Tibet being regarded as not sufficient, in August, 1912, the British Minister in Peking presented a Memorandum to the Chinese government and asked China to refrain from despatching an army to Tibet; (though it was to maintain Chinese sovereignty) "as the re-establishment of Chinese authority would constitute a violation of the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1906. Chinese suzerainty in regard to Tibet was recognized, but Great Britain could not consent to the assertion of Chinese sovereignty over a State enjoying independent treaty relations with her."

Since then British policy is to regard Tibet as independent of China, just as Russia has done regarding Mongolia. To give some standing to the political hypocrisy of Great Britain and Russia, Tibet and Mongolia, though practically they have no right to negotiate with any foreign Powers, yet with the silent sanction of Great Britain and Russia respectively concluded in 1913 the Mongol-Tibetan Treaty; the preamble of which emphasises the fact that Mongolia

and Tibet have freed themselves from China and have become independent States.

But Tibet has not been formally taken in as a British province because Russia wanted to see *status quo* maintained in Tibet, and also Russia has recognized that Great Britain has special interest in Tibet. It is clearly mentioned in the preamble of the Agreement between Great Britain and Russia concerning Tibet.

"The governments of Britain and Russia recognize the suzerain rights of China in Tibet, and considering the fact that Great Britain, by reason of her geographical position, has a special interest in the maintenance of *status quo* in the external relations of Tibet." It is an irony of fate that though China is suzerain in Tibet, yet Great Britain's special interest in this country is so extensive and Russia's love for China is so great that both of these Great European Powers have agreed to call China titular sovereign while Great Britain is actual comptroller of Tibet.

The latest development in the Tibetan situation is that it is reported that Great Britain has submitted the following demands to China.

(1) The Railway concession from India to Tibet.
(2) For the reorganization of affairs in Tibet, China should borrow from Britain alone.
(3) All existing treaties between Britain and Tibet should be recognized as valid.
(4) In developing the industries of Tibet Britain should be engaged to assist.
(5) The Chinese Government should repay loans borrowed by Tibet from Britain.
(6) No troops should be despatched to Tibet without cause.
(7) Appointment of officials should only be made after mutual consultation.
(8) Telegraphs and posts should be established.

(9) No Tibetan rights should be conceded to other countries.

(10) Co-operation in mining enterprises.

—*North China Daily News*, (*December 5th, 1916*)

The clauses 3, 6, 7, and 10 are to destroy completely Chinese sovereignty.

Why do the European world and other Powers keep silence about this generous and benevolent policy of the Great European Powers toward China? Has Japan done to China anything worse than what has been done by any of the Great European Powers?

There are certainly two standards of international justice—one for the European nations among themselves, and the other for the European nations towards Asian people. Anything done to uphold the authority of European or so-called "white people" is unquestionably just; because, according to the ethics of "whitemanism," Orientals are created by God to serve their overlords—Europeans! For that very reason, when during the last months the French by force annexed a certain part of Chinese territory adjoining the French Concession at Tientsin, nearly every European paper in China abused the Chinese and upheld the French high-handedness. And when the *Peking Gazette* courageously took the lead to create public opinion on the subject, the foreign diplomats brought pressure enough to enact a gagging act. Ah, freedom of speech to abuse the Chinese is perfectly desirable, but freedom of speech to question European high-handedness in China is criminal!

### (g) Twenty-one Japanese Demands

A feeling of indignation and intense hatred has been aroused in China by the twenty-one Japanese demands upon China. I want to emphasize again that I am not a believer in the theory of Sphere of Influence in China or in any other country in the world. I do not like to see an inch of the

territory of China usurped by any other nation. But I support every action of Japan by which a further aggression of European nations may be checked in China. So long as there is every fear of upsetting the *status quo* in the Far East because of China's inability to fight against western aggression and so long as the Sino-Japanese Alliance cannot be effected to check European aggression in the Orient, it is desirable from the standpoint of practical politics, for preserving Asian supremacy in the Far East, that Japan should step in and form a strong barrier between aggressive Western nations and China, without hurting China, but giving her a chance to make internal developments.

Undoubtedly some of the Japanese demands are quite unnecessary and humiliating to China, but some of these demands are better guarantee for Chinese territorial integrity than China's agreements with Russia and Great Britain. China should not be over-sensitive about Japan's actions, when it is a fact that China is not in a position to check Russian aggression or any combination of European Power. (China even cannot stop France from taking a little territory near Tientsin!) Japan cannot sit idle and see western Powers entrench themselves in China against Japan. Japan from her past experience cannot expect that any of the European Powers will respect China's rights until she be strong enough to retaliate. Japan for the sake of self-preservation must adopt sure preventive measures against European aggressions in China, even if these measures be very much resented by China.

From this point of view if we examine the Japanese demands we find that the first group of Japanese demands is to safe-guard Japanese interest in the province of Shantung against all the European Powers, so that in future the same thing may not happen as occurred in Liaotung peninsula after the Sino-Japanese War. "With the German seizure of Kiaochow in Nov., 1897, the political horizon of China

assumed a new aspect more menacing to the Japanese. This ominous move on the part of Germany was followed by the Russian occupation of Port Arthur in December, 1897, the British lease of Wei-hai-Wei on April 13, 1898, the French lease of Kwan Chow Bay on April 10, 1898, the British lease of Kowloon Peninsula on June 3, 1898. Even Italy demanded, on Feb. 28, 1899, the lease of Samenum Bay on the coast of Chekiang province as a coaling station and naval base as well as the right to construct a railway from Samenum Bay to Poyang Lake.

"In the international rivalry of sphere of influence, the outstanding fact is that the European Powers were actuated by the lust for territory. They had no real grievance to justify their action in China."

Then what guarantee is there that the European Powers, specially Russia and Great Britain, would not take a hand in Kiaochow, after the war is over?

The second group of demands is to establish a Japanese sphere of influence in South Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia against Russian encroachment.

According to British official reports it is quite clear that Russia cherishes aggressive motives in Mongolia and Manchuria. "During the conversation between M. Pavaloff and Sir Claude MacDonald the former remarked that he must tell him frankly that the *Russian Government intended that the provinces of China bordering on the Russian frontier must not come under the influence of any nation except Russia.*"—*British Blue Book, China No 1, (1896) p. 6.* Japan wants to destroy this doctrine; she wants to come between China and Russia so that the latter will not be able to encroach upon China's territory. And everybody knows that China cannot resist Russian aggression *until she is strong. It is better for the cause of Asian Independence that Japan be supreme in North-Eastern Asia.*

The third group of demands are for special economic concessions for the Japanese and these demands are probably not much more extravagant than what other European Powers are enjoying in some other quarters of China. *According to the fourth group of the Japanese demands the Chinese government engages not to cede or lease to any Power any harbour or bay or island along the coast of China.*

We do not propose to discuss the fifth group of the Japanese demands as they were not conceded by the Chinese government, and Japan temporarily withdrew them.

Far sighted students of international politics will agree with Mr. Millard that "The Japanese demands on China in 1915, reveal the full measure of Japan to undermine British interests and positions in China."—"*Our Eastern Question*," *p. 239.*

Much adverse criticism has been showered by the Chinese and foreign press on Japan's proposal that China should have Japanese military instructors in the Chinese military academies, etc. Japan's motive has been interpreted as a motive of domination of China; but to us it is quite clear Japan in making this serious proposal has been actuated by the absolute necessity of self-defence. Japan has before her eyes the example of Turkey and Germany. Because the Turkish military leaders are pro-German through German training, so to-day Turkey is fighting the Entente group. It has been often openly suggested by the most influential anti-Japanese foreign element in China who are working to keep Japan and China as far apart as possible that the Chinese army should be remodelled and trained by the very anti-Japanese European Powers, then China would in future fight Japan with the aid of some of the European Powers. Japan has every reason to fear lest the Chinese army be controlled by some strong European Power unfriendly to Japan. To-day the Chinese generals dare to overawe their own government. Suppose that after the war

is over some of the veteran British officers with the backing of the British government and finance begin to reorganize the Chinese army and instill the whole army with strong anti-Japanese spirit; then in case a war breaks out between England and Japan, which is not at all impossible, after ten or fifteen years, what will be the fate of Japan? Japan will then have to face the trained millions of China as well as the British army and navy. If China cherishes a friendly attitude towards Japan, Japan will be ready and is certainly competent to train the Chinese army as she has done her own. If China is planning to join with Japan's future enemy among the European Powers, then it is Japan's imperative duty to crush that movement for her own safety. Japan cannot afford to have the Chinese army under the control of any one of the great European Powers. Let us be fair and recall the attitude of Great Britain, Russia and France against the German military mission in Turkey. Japan cannot for her self-protection, quietly see that the Chinese army be the centre of anti-Japanese propaganda. In Chinese questions lie the life and death of Japan and the future of Asian Independence. Japanese statesmen, whenever they face an anti-Japanese attitude on the part of China, will have to adopt serious measures against it. As soon as Japan sees the sign of co-operation on the part of China, she will at once modify her own attitude towards China. It is absolutely desirable for the interest of not only China and Japan, but also of all Asia, that these two countries under the leadership of far-sighted statesmen be on the most friendly terms as may exist between any two nations.

### (h) Expansion of Japanese Commerce in Asia

Much undue importance has been given and hue and cry has been raised about many recent points of misunderstanding between China and Japan. These incidents should

be regarded as matters of passing interest, without much lasting significance in the field of world politics. But the thing that ought to have the serious attention of the thinking public is Japan's commercial expansion in Asia by means of fair competition. About 50% of carrying trade of the Pacific is now under Japanese control. The extent of competition can be realized when we see that the freight rate from Kobe to Hull according to the revised schedule of freight rates published by the Japanese companies enables the Japanese shippers to purchase China-products in Shanghai or other ports, ship them to Kobe, and transship to the United Kingdom for about 60 shillings a ton plus the cost of transshipment, whereas it costs about 190 shillings for the shippers according to Homeward Conference rate. This gives the Japanese an immense advantage over shippers on British and other vessels charging the Homeward Conference rates of 130 shillings a ton. It is also evident that the Japanese shippers can land Chinese products in San Francisco or Seattle for the freight charge of $13.50 gold plus the cost of transshipment in a Japanese port which probably runs less than 50 cents gold a ton, making a total freight and handling charge of $14. The Pacific Conference rates are $24. gold a ton which gives the Japanese an advantage of $10 a ton, so that no American shipper or any other than Japanese, can hope to compete. (Vide—"Japan's Shipping Conquest," in *Far Eastern Review*, June, 1916.) The situation becomes more self-evident from the following report published in the *Japan Times* of Sept. 27, 1916:—

"Sino-Japanese trade as shown in the official trade returns published by the Finance Department yesterday afternoon for the *middle ten days* of the present month shows a fairly large improvement over the preceding periods.

"According to the trade returns the total value of exports for the period is 5,984,705 Yen against 3,797,344

Yen for the corresponding period of last year, there thus being an increase by 2,131,364 Yen. This hopeful turn as shown in these figures is due to increased shipments to Manchuria, North China and Central China, while those to Canton and other South China provinces fell off.

"The following is the summary of the export trade: —

| | *Figures for 1916* | *Figures for 1915* |
|---|---|---|
| Manchuria | 1,218,115 | 662,921 |
| North China | 2,108,208 | 1,399,204 |
| Central China | 2,622,089 | 1,732,552 |
| South China | 10,293 | 2,667 |

The summary for the import trade is as follows:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Manchuria | 171,852 | 180,110 |
| North China | 592,170 | 703,776 |
| Central China | 968,154 | 770,560 |
| South China | 285,141 | 88,492 |

"Expansion of Japanese commerce is not limited to China; but the following table will show that the Japanese commerce is rapidly increasing in all parts of the world.

"The following is the detailed statistical summary of exports and imports with British India and other countries in the South for the period as compared with the pre-war year:—

| | *Exports* (in thousand of Yen) | |
|---|---|---|
| | *1916* | *1914* |
| British India | 35,394 | 16,732 |
| Strait Settlements | 10,153 | 5,977 |
| Dutch Indias | 10,277 | 3,690 |
| French Indo-China | 1,282 | 580 |
| Philippines | 5,529 | 3,895 |
| Siam | 931 | 290 |

| | | *Imports* |
|---|---|---|
| British India | 123,949 | 134,904 |
| Strait Settlements | 5,657 | 2,418 |
| Dutch Indias | 5,029 | 13,149 |
| French Indo-China | 5,664 | 4,833 |
| Siam | 1,207 | 2,652 |

"Thus it will be seen that exports have increased by 200 per cent while imports have decreased by 30 per cent. The increase in Japan's exports is mainly in manufactures." —*The Japan Times, Sep. 19, 1916.*

Mr. Jefferson Jones in his book, "The Fall of Tsingtau" (1915) speaks of Japanese competition in trade in the following way:—

"Until the present time British interests have dominated in the Far East. With her vast territory of India in Asia, the most important colonial possession she has, Great Britain wielded a leadership in the Far East that was felt from Persia to Japan. In banking, her Hongkong-Shanghai Banking Corporation supported by the Chartered Bank, became the leading financial institution in the Far East. Though the Japanese banks have been rising to importance, the British still control the large business interests in the Orient.

"In shipping and trade, Great Britain is still in the front rank in Asia, but with the stupendous growth of Japanese commerce under the Government subsidy it is not known how long this condition will remain."—*pp. 147-148.*

This fear that Great Britain, one of the richest and greatest and undoubtedly the most dominant of the Western Powers in Asia, is menaced by Japan in the field of economic and commercial competition is haunting all who cherish the happy dream of eternal rule of the Western nations over Asia. So we hear so much noise that "Japan is a menace to Asia."

### (i) Japan and Asia

Increase of Japan's commercial interest in the Orient must necessarily imply a proportionate increase of her political prestige in Oriental countries. This seriously conflicts with the interest of European nations, primarily Great Britain. So in the Orient the attitude of Britishers towards everything Japanese is something far from friendly. Japan will do her best to preserve her commercial supremacy in the Orient and thus her legitimate enterprise will certainly lead to serious competition and tension. The European nations will do their best to utilize the goodwill of China and the present unfriendly attitude of China towards Japan as a weapon to offset Japanese influence in the Orient. In the past Japanese statesmen committed some blunders in their dealings with China, but to-day Japan's attitude towards China is decidedly friendly and this friendly attitude will be a part of Japan's policy towards China and Oriental nations in proportion to the increase of European competition in commerce and political interest in the Orient.

Japan is becoming powerful in the Orient, especially in the field of commerce; but that does not hamper the interest of other Asiatic nations; it materially hurts the monopolistic interests of the European nations. Japan's assertion in Asia, and the driving out of the special privileges of the Europeans in Asia by means of fair and legitimate competition is not regarded by thoughtful Asians as a menace to Asia, but it is certainly a challenge to European authority in Asia. This challenge of Japan inspires confidence in the mind of other Asiatic nations about the future possibility of holding their own like Japan in the field of economic and political rivalry with European nations. Then is it fair to call Japan a menace to Asia?

Japan, far from being a menace to Asia, cannot live without the support of Asia. Venerable Marquis Okuma has rightly expressed in his recent book "Fifty Years of New

Japan" about the aspiration of the nation. He says: "I now come to the last important point demanding attention. I mean our aspiration to be recognized by the world as a great nation. There is nothing strange in the demand that our people should be accorded the treatment due to their greatness as a Power, not merely in the Orient, but in the whole world." Japan is supposedly to be a First Class Power; but with all her army, navy, commercial development, she is nothing but a "Pariah" before the European nations, specially the so-called superior Anglo-Saxon World. The Japanese in the British Empire or in American territories do not have the same rights which the people from Montenegro, or any other insignificant power of Europe, enjoy. Japan should feel this. Japan is fighting Great Britain's battles in Asia, but Australia, Canada, South Africa are bound to remain the lands of "British Super-men," and untouchable yellow Japanese, Chinese and brown Hindustanes must not be so audacious as to dream of spoiling the sanctity of these "white men's countries." Japan's honor is imperilled, and she should earnestly work so that the Chinese and the Hindustanes will wake up and assert themselves, like Japan, to escape from this humiliating condition. May Japan be the true leader of Asia! Japan is the pride of Asia; her achievements speak for Asia, and they demonstrate that China and India, under better environment, can at least do like Japan in all fields of human activity.

Some missionaries engaged in religious work in the Far East, and many other Europeans and Americans, with all sincerity believe and preach that Japan is the real menace to Asia. To them we have to say that Japan has not been a party to carry on Opium Wars against China. Japan has not taken away territories from China as other European Powers have done. Whatever territory Japan has taken away from China, has been virtually taken away from Russia. Dr. Wallace McLaren in his "A Political History of

Japan During the Meiji Era" (1916) says, "Korea and the three Eastern provinces had been the prey of Russia, but as a result of the War they became the quarry of Japan." Japan by fighting Russia has saved Asia. Japan has given a new consciousness to the Orient. During this European War when Yuan Shih-kai aided by the British support wanted to destroy the existence of the Chinese Republic, Japan stood against the idea and aided the republicans. When Great Britain and her European allies wanted to drag China into this war by lending money, Japan saved China from the awful calamity by persistently opposing it. This intrigue of dragging China into the European war is not yet over, and Japan will have to show great tenacity, in keeping China free from this snare.

Japan has an historic mission to fulfil by strengthening China, and thus championing the cause of Asian Independence. Whether she will play her part nobly or not is to be seen in the future. Let us hope that Japan will have strength, courage, faith, and above all tact, to act with consideration towards China, so that China will be friendly to Japan and co-operate with her. Alienation of China from Japan means total annihilation of the cause of Asian Independence, and will necessarily mean the ruin of Japan also.

Undoubtedly it is gratifying that the Japanese statesmen, politicians, scholars, journalists and businessmen have begun to talk about friendship between China and Japan. We welcome the spirit, *but let us forewarn the Japanese people that unless these words of friendship be accompanied by sincere acts of friendship, the result will be most demoralising for the interest of all concerned.*

# CHAPTER III.

## FUTURE PROBLEMS OF THE FAR EAST

### (a) Japanese Ambition and America

Japan's ambition is in Asia, but not in America or Europe. Japan as an Asiatic Power wishes to be the first Power in Asia; so she wants to expand in Asia. Her expansion in the Chinese Empire is rather a preventive measure against Russia.

All the European Powers, specially Great Britain, hold this motto: "Japan must not be allowed to become so strong as to challenge the interests of Europeans in China." But Japan is bound to be a menace to European Powers because of the necessity of self-preservation. Dr. James Francis Abbotts rightly points out: "The land-hungry European has been a real menace to Japan's existence as an Oriental Power. Since China has been impotent to protect herself, it has fallen to Japan's lot to come to her rescue—not, be it understood, from altruistic concern for China, but as a matter of self-interest and protection for herself."—*"Japanese Expansion and American Policies," by Dr. James Francis Abbotts, pp. 241-242.*

Dr. Abbotts, to the surprise of many American jingoes, takes the most consistent and sound position regarding American-Japanese relations and advocates a policy of co-operation between Japan and America. He says: "America wishes 'the Open Door' in China, Japan wishes the equivalent of a Monroe Doctrine for the East. If America supports Japan's contention and Japan America's, Europe will be forced to acquiesce and peace in the Pacific will be assured."

"In a word, we must abandon, once and for all, the anti-Japanese policy inaugurated by Knox; more than that, we must abondon the *laissez-faire*, indifferent policy that many advocate to-day. Rather our policy should be one of active co-operation, an alliance, if you will, though not necessarily one in the conventional military sense."—*Ibid.*, *p. 259*.

In support of his argument Prof. Abbotts rightly insists that America for her own interest should support Japan's claim in Manchuria and says: "Asia can never again be what it was before the Cassini Convention. Korea is a part of Japan now and South Manchuria is under her control. Let us accept the situation. China may well heed Japan's contention that she took them, not from her, but from Russia, against whom the former was helpless. Japan's needs for expansion are real and obvious. Manchuria and Korea could hold the double of the Japanese population. Why try to 'head her off'? They are her safety valve. If the stream flows that way, it will not flow to us, nor to Canada and Australia."—*Ibid.*, *pp. 232-3*.

The same author asks the question, "Whether it would be to our own advantage or contrariwise that China should be the scene of the pulling and hauling diplomacy so conspicuously the feature of the past two decades' history or whether we should profit most by the elimination of the European Powers (Russia, England, Germany and France) from political control of Chinese territory and interference in Chinese politics?" He answers his query in the following way:—

"We in this country, wish peace in the Pacific and its shores. We wish to find the greatest possible market for our goods in both Japan and China. We have seen something of the present status of the Oriental trade. We have seen the greatest current market at present is for cotton manufactures, secondly, for such goods as matches, umbrellas, cigarettes, lamps, oil, etc., the use of which is

easily acquired and is increasing in China. In the third rank are the manufactures, the use of which will have to be acquired by the Chinese as their scale of living changes —such things as sewing machines, electrical appliances, scientific instruments, phonographs, household conveniences, plumbing supplies. We may add structural iron and railway equipment.

"The market for these at present is embryonic. Now of the first class, that of cotton yarns and cloths, Japanese goods are attaining rapid ascendency in the Chinese markets. Neither Europe nor America can hope to compete with Japanese cotton mills, employing girls at fifteen cents a day and running nineteen to twenty-three hours out of the twenty-four. But, as we have seen, Japan depends to a great extent upon American raw cotton to supply this market, since a certain admixture is necessary to bring her product to the proper standard. In other words, since the Chinese customer demands the best he can afford, if Japan should attempt to do without American raw cotton, depending upon that from China and India, then her control of the market would pass. Here, therefore, Japan's success is really America's joint-profit and Europe does not count.

"In the second class, all essentially cheap articles, it is likely with the exception of Kerosene oil the trade will also tend to settle into Japan's hands, although in this case in certain lines her competition may come from Europe. Oil we shall doubtless continue to supply.

"It is in the third group of manufactures that American industry has its greatest opportunity. The product of American workshops, employing the highest grade of skilled labor, need not fear competition from the Japanese, at least for many years to come. There is every reason to believe that the Chinese demand for such products will grow apace. Our competitors here, however, will be Germany, England and France. Again we find our interests are not threatened

by Japan but by those powers that have tried to establish a control over large portions of Chinese territory, and have been opposed by Japan in that attempt.

"Commercially, therefore, and from the standpoint of strict national selfishness, it is to our advantage to keep Europe out of East Asia, which involves the acceptance of Japanese dominance in Far Eastern affairs. Every consideration points to a community of interest between America and Japan with reference to the development of China's trade, provided only that Japan does not make the mistake of attempting to monopolize the whole trade."—*Ibid.*, *pp.* 243-45.

Judge Gary after his prolonged stay and study of the industrial condition in the Far East has repeatedly emphasised the view of Prof. Abbotts. But as the people of the U. S. A. are determined not to hear any sound advice and oppose everything vital to Japan's interest, it is hard to believe that friendly relations between these two countries will last indefinitely. Japan will never force the issue of Japanese labor question in California against United States, neither will she take the chance of declaring war singlehanded against U. S. A., because in that case all the white people of the world would side with America against Japan.

"To any one who examines the facts, the most striking characteristics of the white peoples that inhabit the lands bordering the Pacific is their instinct of racial solidarity against the Oriental.....But should Japan declare war against the United States, the situation from the European standpoint would be very much graver. Were the antagonist any other than an Oriental one, we may well believe that a good many European nations would view a thorough trouncing of the United States with complacency. But the defeat of any leading Occidental power by Japan would be a calamity from the standpoint of any nation in Europe.

England would without doubt be given the immediate alternative of renouncing the Japanese alliance or losing Canada and Australia from the Empire. At any rate it is inconceivable that England should be anything but neutral in the matter in which her own self-interest would be so much concerned. But with England neutral, that is with Japan deprived of the backing of the English alliance, both Russia and Germany would appear on the scene of continental Asia, the one with keen recollections of Port Arthur and Dalny and the other with equally keen remembrance of Kiaochow, and both ready to seize the long deferred chance to secure themselves in China by evicting Japan."—*Ibid.*, *pp. 211-12.*

### (b) Conflicting Interest Between Japan and Great Britain

About the conflicting interest between Japan and Great Britain it is rightly pointed out that "England's trade along the China coast led all the rest until very recently, and it has chiefly been her partner in the alliance (Japan) that has played the successful rival and reduced the relative importance of that trade. No one can say what results will follow the conclusion of the Great European War. It is doubtful, however, if Russia is ever again to be the bugaboo to England that she has been in the past, and if that is so, then the chief motive on England's part for maintaining the Japanese alliance will disappear, and her own interests, as well as the pressure which Canada and Australia will exert, will force her into the other (?) camp."

Whatever may be the present relation between Japan and Australia no one should take lightly the statement of Sir Joseph Ward, Premier of New Zealand from 1906-1912, "Australia looks to America as her natural ally in the coming struggle against Japanese domination."—*Ibid.*, *p. 153.*

The most far-reaching cause of ill-feeling between Great Britain and Japan is Japan's contesting Great Britain's supremacy—commercially and politically—in Asia. Japanese business men in all parts of Asia complain that the British authorities are interfering with their legitimate rights. As an ally of Great Britain Japan expects co-operation in her commercial expansion, but she is now getting just the opposite treatment.

"Complaint against the actions of British authorities in the South Sea Islands is made by Prof. Kokel Ichimura, of the Imperial University of Kyoto, who has just returned from a trip to these islands. Interviewed by a reporter of the *Hoeki Shimbun* at Kobe upon his arrival, Prof. Ichimura said:

"The British authorities in these islands not only open commercial telegrams to and from Japanese merchants, but often confiscate them without notice. If merchants make inquiries, as to the reason for the confiscation, the British coldly reply that no explanation is necessary.

"Some time ago the British Consul at Sorabaya tried to put the name of the Mitsui Bussan on the black list, saying that the company had been doing business with Germans. He communicated his intention to his colleague at Batavia. The latter upon investigation discovered that the charge was not correct, and the Mitsui company narrowly escaped being put on the black list. The British authorities are forcing merchants to cancel contracts with Germans, which had been entered into before the publication of the list.

"Consequently, prices have gone up. The price of sugar has doubled compared with the cost before the publication of the black list. Considerable damage is done to Japanese merchants by the method pursued by the British authorities in the island. A worse thing is the fact that sugar contracts for which Japanese merchants are thus

compelled to cancel by the British, are often bought by the British merchants, who are making a considerable profit in this way. This is unmistakably an interference of the British authorities with Japanese commercial interests.

"The Japanese warships, which are keeping guard on these islands in place of the British vessels, receive cool treatment from the British inhabitants of the islands. The Japanese residents are considerably displeased with the attitude of the British towards their warships, which are doing a valuable service in assisting England."—*The Japan Advertiser, Tokyo, Oct. 20, 1916.*

The Japanese do not find themselves very welcome in India. The *Kokumin* printed the following in a prominent position in its issue of September 14, 1916:

"A Japanese gentleman who visited India and the Straits Settlements on his way to Japan from Europe writes:—

"'The general anti-Japanese sentiment of the British authorities in various parts east of India which I inspected is lamentable. Although the British Home Government is, of course, not concerned one way or another with this sentiment, yet, allow it to continue and the future will certainly be serious. I want to draw the attention of our Foreign Office and the public to this matter.

"'In India, the authorities look on Japanese travellers as if they were spies. They impede the movements of the travellers and they are not permitted to live freely in the country. As for the Japanese goods, the authorities have enforced upon the Japanese a kind of raising of customs duty by imposing on them fines under various names. They are trying as much as possible to check the import of the Japanese goods. The controller of customs, for instance, officially wrote "it is satisfactory to see the decrease of Japanese goods." The authorities also try to check the exports to Japan. Nitre, for example, has been ordered by

the Japanese Army. Notwithstanding that it is evident to the British authorities that the only consumer of nitre is the Japanese Army, they try not to export to Japan the quantity needed by her. They, on the contrary, export a great deal of it to America. Whence, it may be feared, it will be sent to the enemy. *They make every effort to obstruct social acquaintance with the Indians and the authorities have actually prohibited the Indians from going to Japan.* One who comes to India with the purpose of making some investigation, whether official or private, is obstructed, mining engineers especially have been treated like belligerents. Foreigners generally have obtained the right of mining, but the Japanese only are not granted the right. On the whole the authorities seem to fear the Japanese penetrating into India, and they restrain the Japanese to drive them out of the country.

"'The sentiment is less marked in Straits Settlements than in India. But the mineral work planned by the Japanese meets with official obstruction there also, and the export of any goods to Japan has been limited, which is no less inconvenient to the Japanese merchants. Ships of the Imperial Navy have taken charge of waters east of Singapore and as far as India, but the liberty of the ships have been apt to be restricted. The authorities meddle in the use of wireless telegraphy and it is not rare that a lookout is kept by the authorities over the movement of the ships.

"'A degree of restraint has been placed on new enterprises planned by the Japanese in Malay Settlements except the planting of rubber trees, and thus the authorities have been attempting to obstruct our progress.

"'The Japanese in Borneo, where the authorities of the island have hitherto been generous and open-minded to them, as the numbers of Japanese residents increase, have also to face inconvenience brought about by the authorities.

"'Siam, instead of her being a strict neutral, has been so influenced by the British minister there as to check the free export and import trade of the Japanese merchants residing in that country. A tricky obstruction has been attached to the mining work in Siam also.

"'At Hongkong the Japanese must report their address to the authorities. Letters are opened by the censor, and sometimes they are condemned. Even letters for Canton are sometimes opened. When one receives a remittance of much money, he is asked by the authorities the purpose for which he wants the money. Bags of Japanese travellers are searched, telegrams to Japan are liable to be rejected. The authorities treat the Japanese as though they were enemy subjects. When we think of the treatment which the British authorities have given the Japanese, people of an allied country, we cannot help being filled with humiliation'."—*Japan Advertiser, Sept. 20, 1916.*

A big volume can be easily filled with such passages proving that public opinion in Japan is against Great Britain. Mr. Millard in his recent book "Our Eastern Question" (1916) has at length discussed Japanese policy and world politics and has shown that "*Japan's world policy is inimical to British interests wherever they touch Asia.*" And the most thoughtful and far-sighted British opinion is that the Japanese policy in Asia, if not changed, (and we think it impossible to change the course of the Japanese policy in Asia) will soon destroy the very foundation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and England will have to look for help somewhere else for preserving her influence in Asia.

About the coming possible conflict between Japan and Great Britain Mr. Jefferson Jones in his recent book "Fall of Tsingtau" (1916) says:—

"There is one nation, however, that is going to meet this spirit of *bushido* within the next ten or fifteen years, and that nation is none other than Great Britain. Already

Britain's commercial interests are choking under the yoke of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and the Japanese even talking commercial invasion of the Yangtze valley, a British sphere of influence in China, it is wondered just how many years it will take for the friction that is now developing between the Japanese and British interests to lead to something more serious."—*pp. 144-145.*

In this connection let us quote what Mr. A. M. Pooley in his recent work "The Secret Memoirs of Count Hayashi" (London, 1915) has to say: "When the first alliance (Anglo-Japanese Alliance) was signed its honest *ultima ratio*, so far as England was concerned, was fear of Russian aggression on India and Constantinople. So far as Japan was concerned it was the absorption of Korea and a predominating position in China. England was to keep the ring whilst Japan attacked Russia.

"The net result was that Russia's ambitions on the Pacific were checked and diverted to Persia and the Balkans, where she is considerably nearer to India and her manifest destiny, Constantinople, than ever before. The document which provided for the integrity of China and independence of Korea handed over the latter country for annexation by Japan and a slice of Chinese Empire as big as India to Japanese control. *A British Government which has put its seal to the alliance, ostensibly to ensure China's sovereignty over her own territories, became an active party to the abrogation of that sovereignty over a vast stretch of China. It is not, perhaps, to be wondered at that Germany expressed surprise at England's respect for 'a scrap of paper' in August of last year.*

"The second alliance treaty was the reiteration of the first on a broader basis, except that Germany was the enemy feared, and it included the enunciation of Japan's reward or her services against Russia.

"The third alliance treaty was an emasculation of the second by removal of any possibility of our being called on to fight America. It has been a source of greatest dissatisfaction in Japan, for America is the one Power which Japan fears may attempt to annul her claims to keep China in leading strings.

"I shall be very much surprised if within a few years we do not realize that our (British) money and our support have raised up against us in the *Far East a Power* (*Japan*) *as powerful and as dangerous as Germany has become, and one infinitely more difficult to handle on account of her position.*

"Japan is distinctly a country to be treated with *cautious courtesy* and a country our statesmen require to know a great deal more about than they do know. A theocratic bureaucracy is probably the most effective government conceivable. Obedience is its watchword. In Japan the world has the most highly organized bureaucratic machine in existence. As ex-President Roosevelt would put it, they have Germany beat to a frazzle.

"It must be remembered too, that the Japanese are first-class diplomats, and everything which it connotes. In Oriental diplomacy there is no room for scruples.

"Diplomacy is war in the council chamber instead of on the field. The true diplomat combines the subtlety of a serpent with the simplicity of a dove. He may affect to believe and should, in fact, believe nothing. He has his goal marked out and has to get there or as near to it as may be humanly possible. In Japan the European diplomat lives in the atmosphere of blandishment and Bushido, but he should never forget that the 'Ethics of Bushido make no distinction between the ways which are dark and the tricks which are vain' so long as the aim is attained. Hence I may say again *that our* (*British*) *policy in the Far East should be one of polite preparation.*"—*pp. 64-70.*

It is absolutely clear that to the thinking British public JAPAN IS AS DANGEROUS AS GERMANY so far as the British interest in the Far East is concerned. And the remedy proposed is 'POLITE PREPARATION'. Polite preparation for what? NATURALLY FOR A CONFLICT. Then is conflict between Japan and Great Britain unavoidable?

Supposing this guarded suggestion of a conflict be the true meaning of the future British policy, then is Japan ready to face this conflict and face it successfully? Great Britain and Japan are allies; this does not mean in future there cannot be any cause for a conflict between them. Alliances cannot last when interests conflict. Let every Japanese think carefully that before this Great European War broke out Italy was an ally of the Central Powers and it is through the efforts of British diplomacy, primarily, that Italy is fighting against her former allies.

If ever this conflict comes, then it must be fought out in the Far East. The first step of the British preparation will be in the form of taking steps that Japan could be isolated politically and financially as Germany is in the present conflict. In fact the British attempt will be to bring about a Japanese isolation much more effective. Then Great Britain will do her best to use the resources and men power of India, Canada, Australia, if possible China (in fact she has succeeded in getting the Chinese masses against Japan already by saying that Japan has designs against China), and probably America and other Powers against Japan. Supposing this to be the programme of POLITE PREPARATION, so far as Great Britain is concerned, against Japan, then what should Japan do? Is it not very natural that the Japanese statesmen should do everything that is possible to win over China on their own side so that Japan will have no fear from China? Then the next step for the Japanese public is to make the Indian people, leaders and Princes convinced that Japan is not opposed to the Indian aspiration of being free from a

foreign yoke. So that in case a conflict comes, at least the Indian people would remain sympathetic towards Japan. If it is possible Japan should follow the same policy which Great Britain has followed in Arabia and Egypt to weaken Turkey. Japan must prepare herself for the worst, not only for her own existence but for the cause of Asian Independence.

Then let it be clearly understood that in the past the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was very popular to the British public because it was indeed a form of POLITE PREPARATION OF THE BRITISH against the growing power of Russia and Germany. Now Japan is getting stronger every day and Great Britain is advised to adopt means of POLITE PREPARATION against Japan. This is the secret of future British Diplomacy in the Far East.

### (c) Russo-Japanese Alliance

But certainly Japan wishes to expand in the South, both commercially and politically. In China Japan's position is that she must obstruct any chance of China being used by any of the European Powers against her, and, to accomplish this, Japan must adopt means to extend her political and economic influence in China, without territorial aggression, so far as possible. Japan must have more territories for her surplus population and for this purpose and to establish her commercial supremacy Japan must expand southward. Mr. Kiichi Yamada in his recent book, "*The Southward Advance and Ogasawara Islands*" frankly speaks of making Ogasawara Islands (Bonin Islands) a base against any aggression from the side of America. He says that Dutch East India may almost be called uninhabited, where the Japanese should go and develop the rich resources. "The Japanese Empire is bound to develop abroad; from this point of view the increase in the number of Japanese in foreign countries is a welcome thing, but they should not be content with merely being guests

of foreign countries. They should establish new homes abroad." This policy of Southward expansion of Japan means "Britain is not to rule the waves of Eastern Asia." So the British people are to-day deadly opposed to Japanese ambition. In 1915 the Anti-English feeling in Japan went so far that many responsible persons and journals spoke against the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and to-day it is the general feeling that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in its present form is one-sided and it must not be continued after its expiry in its present form. So long as England is not to come to Japan's aid in case war breaks out between America and Japan, Japan should not be the guarantor of peace in India. The Japanese statesmen saw clearly that it was quite undiplomatic to speak like that and suppressed all agitation against the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but concluded the Russo-Japanese Alliance. Japanese statesmen are afraid that Great Britain may play the same trick of isolating Japan as happened in case of Germany before the European War broke out. So she has taken precaution to stop Russia getting into any such combination.

The terms of the recent treaty of alliance concluded between Japan and Russia, as reported by the *Nichinichi* of Japan, are as follows:—

"1. Russia shall cede to Japan that section of the Manchurian railway between Changchun and a certain point near Harbin. This will afford Japan's south Manchuria Railway an easier access to the Russian metropolis in Manchuria.

"2. Japan shall help Russia with arms and ammunition as long as the war in Europe lasts.

"3. Russia shall accord liberal treatment to the Japanese residing and engaged in business in Eastern Siberia and North Saghalien, as well as in the railway zone of north Manchuria.

"4. Russia shall throw open to international commerce the harbour of Vladivostok, and shall not increase the armament of the port to such an extent as would cause apprehension on the part of Japan.

"5. Russia and Japan shall respect each other's interests in Manchuria and Mongolia. Should disturbance arise in the Russian sphere of influence in these territories, while Russia is engaged in the war against Germany and Austria, Japan shall, upon Russia's request, undertake to pacify the country.

"6. In case Japan is obliged to take necessary measures to preserve the peace and open door in China, Russia shall not hinder the execution of such measures. Should a third Power or Powers obstruct such measures, Russia shall, upon Japan's request, take common action with Japan for the removal of such obstruction."

It is also generally believed that there is a secret treaty between Russia and Japan, concluded recently, and it is directed against Great Britain. *The Peking Gazette* has recently published the following text as the contents of the said secret treaty:—

"Russo-Japanese Secret Agreement.

"Art. I. Japan will assist Russia in securing a special position in middle Asia, and Russia shall, with the support of Japan, secure an outlet to the Indian Ocean.

"Art. II. Japan shall assist Russia to secure and maintain the commerce of inland Siberia now in the hands of the Germans, and Russia shall grant Japan numerous privileges with the understanding that Japan will eject from Russia and Asia German commerce.

"Art. III. When necessary in Outer Mongolia, Japan shall give Russia military assistance.

"Art. IV. Russia and Japan shall pursue an identical policy in Peking and the two governments shall act towards

the same goal, namely, the destruction of Great Britain in Eastern Asia and the whole of Asia. (Sic.)

"Art. V. Japan shall give assistance if Russia should attack India or Central Asia.

"Art. VI. Russia shall support any movement of Japan in the western Pacific Ocean. When requested by Japan, Vladivostock may be opened as a naval base.

"Art. VII. Japan and Russia shall unitedly oppose any policy of America or Great Britain in Peking, if such policy is opposed to the interests of Japan or Russia.

"Art. VIII. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance shall not be renewed when the same expires. (Sic)

"Art. IX. Russia and Japan shall unitedly expel American influence beyond the western Pacific.

"Art. X. Russia recognises the position of Japan as the leading Power in China. The two countries shall oppose any third party which may try to secure territory in China.

"Art. XI. Japan shall support Russia, if a future war should break out between Russia and any other European Powers, and supply Russia with money and arms. Russia shall have the same obligations if war broke out between Japan and any third country in Eastern Asia.

"Art. XII. Japan and Russia shall work unitedly towards the eventual liberation of India so that the peace of the Far East may be maintained.

"Art. XIII. To establish a Russo-Japanese Bank for the purpose of developing the commercial and political interests of the two countries.

"Art. XIV. Russia shall yield to the wishes of Japan in connexion with Chinese finance and diplomatic intercourse in connection with Japan's Eastern Asia policy."

All of these may not be true, but Russia at present sees it impossible to force her way to the warm waters of the Pacific. She may be disgusted at seeing the British evacua-

tion of Gallipoli, and thus the unfulfilment of her cherished dream of occupying Constantinople. Russians openly accuse the British failure at the Dardanelles as due to their reluctance to take it because in that case it would have been a Russian port. Russia expects that she may get German support, if she intends to take a port in the Persian Gulf, and Japanese help will be of great value in case Great Britain contests the Russian claim. But it is often remarked that Russia will not keep her treaty with Japan, and they point out that Russia has made the present agreement to satisfy her need during the war and also point out that "Russia has erected two forts in the Hingan Range running into Amur region without even notifying the Chinese authorities of the same. Military commander Pi of Hwaung Kiang telegraphed a report to the central government which has instructed Mr. Liu, Chinese Minister to Petrograd, to open negotiations there with the Russian government." *Manchurian Daily News, Oct. 27th, 1916.*

This certainly shows that Russia has not altogether abandoned her ambition in China and in the Far East. But Russia's geographical position and the unfriendly attitude of the British people towards Japan make Japan draw closer to Russia. The Russo-Japanese alliance is a defensive measure for Japan, and it is to tie up Russia's hand against Japan and China as far as possible.

### (d) Japan's part in the European War and British Discontent

Japan entered into this European War to keep up her agreement with Great Britain that Japan is bound to preserve peace and the territorial integrity of Great Britain in Eastern Asia and India. Japan has done her share more than expected; she aided even in sending Australian troops to Egypt and Europe. Japanese marines landed to stop rebellion in Singapore. If Japan played false like Italy and Roumania for money and territory, then Japan, joining with

Germany, might have taken parts of Australia or India and expelled the British and French from Eastern Asia without much difficulty. Great Britain ought to be grateful to Japan; but Japan has demanded that her merchants should be given equal treatment in Australia, and it has not been favorably considered by the Australian government. This is not all, the British people are very anxious that Japan should not get anything as compensation in case the allies win. Mr. Putnam Weale, writing in the *Peking Gazette*, Oct. 27, on "Japan's Place in the World-War" gives expression to the British attitude towards Japan: "Let us make this plain. Japan is just as much committed to the aims and objects of the war as England, France, Russia, Italy and other allies; and she is destined to be just as much shackled by the rulings of the Great Congress which will one day assemble as every single one of the belligerents. Though her geographical position has been made the excuse for non-participation of her armies on the main battle-fields, *morally and legally she is just as much bound to exhaust herself in the prosecution of the war as her allies;* as she has done nothing save to engage on a miniature campaign round a Chinese harbour and to employ a score of cruisers on patrol work, it follows that before the end comes calls of very exacting character will be made on her.

"*There is no denying that the occupation of piling up wealth from the preparation of war supplies*, in which almost the whole of her industrial and commercial classes are now engaged night and day, is attracting increasing comment throughout the world; whilst the steady growth of her gold reserve from some thirty-five million sterling to nearly seventy millions—with the promise that it will be a hundred millions before the peace actually comes—has amply disclosed to her friends that she is having all the sweets whilst they encounter all the bitterness. From the very early days of the war the French were particularly anxious for the

despatch of a Japanese expeditionary force to assist them on their hard pressed front, and though it is doubtful whether this ever took the form of a formal request, there is no question that quite recently all the allies were anxious to have Japanese Divisions landed at Salonika where they would have been peculiarly suited for the warfare of the Balkans. That in such circumstances the Japanese have stayed at home is no doubt a matter of satisfaction for the Tokyo Government which has no desire to have its strength or its material resources diverted from the East. But in the ultimate settlement a different view will be taken. Japan, having already won all the compensations to which she is entitled by the stream of wealth that has been poured into her lap from the urgent necessity of her allies—*and having prevented China in November, 1915, from joining in the war—will find that any attempt to claim later that she is entitled to special rights and special privileges in this country will be openly resisted*..... The failure to take advantage of the war in a form which would have virtually dictated terms to the Allies on the subject of China will probably be recognized in years to come as the most crucial mistake Japanese diplomatists have ever made; for had they boldly made up their minds to stake everything on a sensational intervention in Europe, and pandered to the instinct of hero worship which is so deeply engrained in European mobs by sending their armies across the seas, a huge wave of approval would have swept the Liberal nations—and in the ironical way politics work out, the Eastern Empire would have found that she could act as unjustly as she liked in China, her actions being drowned by the loudness of European éclat.

"The ill-concealed jealousy which has always existed on the subject of the control of the Pacific will ultimately be thrown into great prominence owing to the fact that Australia cannot and will not any longer tolerate any strong

Power possessing bases in the proximity of her vast territory. While declarations regarding the rendition of the various German islands of the Pacific which were occupied by the Japanese Navy during the desultory campaign of 1914 and 1915 have been made, it is believed that such rendition will be coupled with 'conditions' and that round these conditions a bitter battle will ensue, since the mastery of the Pacific is no empty phrase. Australia, after her contribution to the British Empire in the struggle now raging, will occupy a very different position in the future from what she has occupied in the past, and so far as concerns British diplomacy her word in Pacific matters will be law. She will be disinclined to listen to anything but a complete surrender of all these islands, and she will not allow questions affecting her future to be made the subject of bargaining to secure their rendition. Though her policy may differ from American policy in certain essentials, a curious similarity of reasoning will tend to become prominent in the manner she envisages attempts to introduce a new balance of waterpower round the shores of the Pacific; and from this vexed question a United Pacific policy will arise which will directly influence the politics of Peking. For with Canada equally determined to expand her influence on the Pacific, owing to the remarkable sacrifices she has made in the prosecution of the war, an Anglo-Saxon solidarity must be created undreamed before 1914."

It is nothing strange for the Japanese statesmen to peruse the above opinion of a person who enjoys the confidence of British authorities. But to an Asiatic mind it leaves a vivid impression of the British sense of justice. The European allies of Japan, specially Great Britain, are sick at heart to see that Japan is getting rich by supplying ammunitions to Russia; without this contribution of Japan, Russia would have begged on her knees for peace. Ungrateful European allies are blind to see what Japan has done for

them. Of course England by lending money to Russia when currency has depreciated to 50% is also piling up an enormous amount of money in the shape of interest, that is not a matter of any crime. Secondly, Japan, by not sending soldiers to Europe and by not being bled to death, so that Great Britain might remain supreme and Anglo-Saxon solidarity might gobble up Japan's interest, receives the great disgust of every Britisher. But Japan is, by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, bound to help England in the Far East and in India only. Japan was ready to send soldiers to France, on condition that she should be given promise that she should get some important concession in Indo-China; but Great Britain prevented it. Pray tell us, why should Japan go and have her men butchered in Europe to serve British interests, when Australia and Canada refuse to give equal rights to the Japanese? Undoubtedly Japan knows that if China ever gets into this war, that means international control of China by so-called friendly European Powers, whose highest ambition is to excell each other in exploiting China at the cost of the Chinese interest. This means a serious menace to Japan, and thus she has stopped this game of British diplomacy. Certainly it has given a serious cause of ill-feeling.

Before Turkey entered into the arena of this world-war, the Entente group exerted their supreme effort that Turkey should remain neutral. By Turkey's getting into the war, Russia lost the outlet for her wheat and corn, while she had to keep a large force on Turkey's frontier. The British and French fleets were tied up in the Dardanelles in their futile attempt to force a passage through the strait. Great Britain had to keep two strong forces on the Egyptian and Persian frontiers; she also had to keep herself ready in the Afghan frontier, lest the little hilly kingdom of the brave Mohammedan fighters join the cause of Turkey. *Turkey's joining the cause of the Central Powers for her self-preserva-*

*tion against the Entente group, especially Russia and Great Britain, has certainly influenced the Balkan question against the Entente and undoubtedly strengthened the position of the Central Powers.* If Turkey had remained neutral, then it would have been a great gain for the Entente. Similarly, if Japan had remained neutral, it would have been of tremendous advantage to the Central Powers, and for this very reason the Kaiser suggested that the Central Powers would not carry on war in Eastern Asia, if Japan remained neutral. Let us see what would have been the position of the Entente group if Japan had remained neutral in this war.

"If Japan did not go in with Germany, but merely remained neutral, Russia would have to keep a million men in Siberia, France would be compelled to garrison her Indo-Chinese possessions with several army corps and Great Britain be forced to maintain in the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, for the protection of India, Australia, and New Zealand, to say nothing of Canada, a fleet at least equal to that of Japan, while her ability to draw on the Indian Army would be severely restricted." Thus Japan's mere participation in this war is a prodigious contribution in support of the Entente Powers.

This is not all. "At the outset of the war Japan was well supplied with military stores, and she opened them without reserve to the Allies. *It is well known that she sent rifles to Kitchener's Armies, but it is not well known that she also provided guns for the British navy and is still making them for it.* She has furnished rifles to all the Allies except Italy. And it should not be forgotten in casting up the account that owing to the comparative cheapness of the Japanese labor, the Allies of Japan obtain munitions from her at a much lower cost, than, say, from the U. S. A.; and Japanese skill results in quite as first class workmanship. Rifles in Japan are just about half the price of the American rifles and are equally good."

"From the naval point of view Japan's part in the war has been and remains of exceptional importance.....In the first year of the conflict Japanese warships protected the coast of Australia, New Zealand and British Columbia at a time when the German cruisers were in the Pacific....It has not transpired how much the Japanese navy did in hunting down the Emden, or bringing Von Spee's ships to book in the battle of Falkland Islands..... *Troops from Australia and New Zealand have been conveyed to Suez with the assistance of Japanese cruisers, not once but continually*....A better idea of what Japan has done and is doing at sea is obtained from a statement made in the Japanese Parliament last year by Admiral Yashiro, Minister of Marines, who said that since the occupation of Kiaochow, the strength of the Japanese squadron, which was constantly employed in co-operating in one way or another with the British fleet, was 225,000 tons, or about the total strength of the navy of Japan in war with Russia. And this takes no account of the work done by the mercantile marine."—"*Japan's Part in the War*" *by Robert Machray* (*The Nineteenth Century and After, Sept., 1916. pp. 531-542*).

Nobody knows what is going to be the outcome of this war, but we hear of the various agreements, that Russia will have Constantinople and the control of the Dardanelles, France will have Syria, Italy will get a part of Asia Minor, England will have all the Turkish territory adjoining the Persian Gulf, and also she will establish a protectorate over Arabia, etc. It is intensely amusing and instructive for us Asian people to note that, whatever may be the outcome of the war, the protectors of the rights of the small nations are agreed to dismember Turkey, an Asiatic State, just as Great Britain and Russia settled the fate of Persia after the Russo-Japanese War. We have not heard what Japan is going to get for playing such an im-

portant part in preserving the British Empire during the most critical period of its existence. Because Japan is an Asian Power, so we only hear of her being denounced as a menace to Asia, etc. If Japan fail to get anything else, she should at least get fuller recognition as a world-power on equal footing with England. Japan should at least get this, that her subjects will be able to travel, trade, and reside in all the British colonies, like white men. Unless she gets this, it will tie up Japan's commercial activities; and so long as the Japanese are not given fair treatment in Australia and British colonies, they can never expect to get better rights in the American continent. Some people are inclined to think that the present propaganda against Japan has the objective, that when the Peace negotiations will begin, Japan will face a strong adverse public opinion opposed to her legitimate and just demands, as happened after the Sino-Japanese War.

### (e) Probable Combination of Powers and some Future Problems of the Far East

It is very noteworthy that the Japanese attitude towards Germany, even during the war, is far from being bitter. The German Banks did their business until Oct., 1916, and the German prisoners of war are not at all ill-treated; civilians are not even interned. "At Kurume and other little hamlets in Japan, where the German prisoners were quartered after the war (fall of Tsingtau), every convenience and facility and practical freedom for prisoners were given the men by the Japanese. Their favorite brand of cigarettes, their magazines and newspapers,.....anything they wanted was theirs for the asking. During the day hours they were allowed to roam around the town streets for exercise, go on shopping tours and the like, and only when some German soldiers took advantage of the freedom given them by the Japanese by escaping, did

the Nippon Empire put a more stringent watch upon prisoners."

Even during the war business relation has not ceased between Germany and Japan, as can be easily understood from the following account which appeared in the *North-China Daily News* of Dec. 21, 1916:—

"The direct importation of German goods into Japan has of course ceased since the outbreak of war; but there are still some imports arriving through neutral countries as U.S.A. and China. According to investigations made by the Dept. of Agriculture and Commerce (Tokyo) the total German imports from January to the end of October amounted in value to Y 2,980,976. The largest item was analine dyes the value of which amounted to no less than Y 2,313,633 out of the total. Other commodities were:—Iron goods Y 410,694. Machinery 98,026. Pulp 33,236. Woolen yarn 30,894. Woolen cloth and serges 28,000. Paper 23,493. Rails 5,798. Locomotives and vehicles 3,725. Hides and leather 1,391." The Japanese statesmen probably now think more earnestly about the soundness of the late Prince Ito's advice, who, after his return from his last tour in Europe, expressed his opinion that Japan should have an alliance with Germany. Undoubtedly a German-Japanese alliance will free both parties from the fear of Russia or Great Britain. If Germany or Japan can show any diplomatic sense, then it is easy to bring about a German-Japanese Alliance for their mutual benefit.

Austro-Germany and Russia must be friends after the war, is the cry among a very considerable section of population of these countries. Then if Russia, Austria-Germany and Japan be allies, which General Homer Lea once foretold, then Great Britain will be in a great plight. She will also find that Turkey must necessarily be with this combination, unless Germany foolishly sacrifices Turkish interests to please Russia, whose pleasure to side with

Germany may not be as sincere as that of Turkey. Great Britain may then seek for an alliance with U.S.A., France, Italy, etc.; (U.S.A. has no earthly reason to get into this muddle, if she changes her anti-Japanese policy), but this will not be a match against the combination of Russia, Austria, Germany, Japan and Turkey.

Japan would like to see China remain neutral, if she does not side with her. In case of emergency, Japan alone would be able to fight Canada and Australia, and even U.S.A. in the East Asian waters without much difficulty, and, of course, Russian aid will augment Japanese strength. Then England will not be able to remove much of her army or navy from Europe or Africa to protect India against a Russian-Japanese and Turko-German invasion. So the defence of India must necessarily fall to a large extent to the hands of the Indian people who are undoubtedly brave fighters; but there are no Indian officers of any training to oppose such a collossal march. If from now on Great Britain gives the Indian people Home Rule and makes military training compulsory, then, even, it is doubtful whether they will have the arms and ammunition enough in India to oppose the formidable combination.

India forms the centre of the British Empire. Late General Homer Lea in his work "Days of the Saxons" conclusively proves that from military and economic points of view, the very day Great Britain loses India, her world-empire falls to pieces. Lord Curzon once said that without India Great Britain would be a third class Power. India's direct contribution, military, moral and economic support to Great Britain in this great war is tremendous. The services of the Indian people before and during this war have largely strengthened the position of the British Empire.

Mr. Vithaldas K. Bhuta in an article in one of the recent issues of *The Hindusthan Review* has clearly shown that India not only during this Great War but long before

its outbreak has been all along bearing a great amount of army charges for the benefit of the British Empire. "The figures given by Mr. Bhuta speak for themselves:—

Cost of Army Charges.

| | In India | In England |
|---|---|---|
| 1901—02.... | £11,380,872 | £4,383,059 |
| 1905—06.... | £14,178,363 | £5,238,074 |

"He writes that the Indian army cost twenty-two million pounds sterling last year. Surely it is not too much to say that India maintained a vast army simply for the defence of the Empire. The Indian army is fighting in the fields of France and Flanders, Egypt and Mesopotamia, China and East Africa. India has paid eleven millions for maintaining it abroad and is going to pay eight millions more for its maintenance till March, 1917. The Indians are heroically defending the liberties of small nations.... with sacrifice of blood.

"Besides splendid gifts of money to the Indian War Relief Funds scattered all over the land, and gifts of comforts and money to the Women's Branches of War Relief Fund, there is a continuous stream of individual gifts from the Princes and people of India, gifts of Aeroplanes and motor ambulances, hospital ships and Red Cross gifts too innumerable to be mentioned in a single article. The sums of money and war gifts if we count the total cost amount at least to 25 to 30 million sterling. Bombay alone maintains half a dozen war hospitals. But all this sacrifice of money and war gifts is nothing in comparison to the splendid help by 300,000 soldiers of India who have fought and bled and died for the Empire."

"A writer in the *War League Journal* (Karachi) says, The Mesopotamian, Egyptian and East African Expeditionary Forces were almost entirely equipped and are still largely from India. In the matter of munitions all suitable

engineering workshops in India, including even the Mint, have been busily engaged in producing munitions and other important military equipment."—*The Review of Reviews* (*London*) *Nov. 1916.*

The British public probably do not realize that if there were an uprising of the type of 1857 in India during this war, then it would have shaken the very foundation of the British Empire. It is highly interesting to note that when 19 out of 27 Indian representatives of the Supreme Legislative Council in British India a few months ago presented to the Indian government a reform proposition, the substance of which is that: 1. half of the number of the different Councils in India to be Indians. 2. to grant financial autonomy to Indians. 3. to abolish restrictions upon the carrying of weapons on one's person. 4. to extend the scope of eligibility to the Indian Volunteer Service. 5. to make the Indians eligible as military and naval officers, the *London Times* editorially exclaimed about these modest demands that they are "unreasonable and extraordinary and these representatives do not represent the people!" It has been also remarked by the same esteemed daily that "the maddest of all things conceivable is the idea of Home Rule in India." It is very amusing to note that the Czar of Russia has proclaimed to give complete Home Rule for Poland and the much hated Germans who are supposed to be barbarians to the British eye have already inaugurated some kind of Home Rule in the conquered territory of Poland, but Great Britain, the supposed protector of small nations' rights, can not conceive the idea of giving Home Rule to Ireland—what to India!

Nearly all British officials and public men are unanimous in instructing the leaders and people that they should not demand any special reform during the war or afterwards because the benevolent government agency is ever watchful to the interest of the Indian people and will

sanction some paltry reforms to suit their whims. But it has been reported from London (Feb. 8, 1917) that the Indian Government will promulgate an ordinance *instituting compulsory military training for all British subjects of European origin in the Indian Empire.* This discrimination between the British subjects of European origin and those of Indian origin is the fundamental question for the impartial students of the Indian situation. It is quite clear that the British government is either unjust to the Indian people or is afraid of their having arms in their possession, lest they revolt against the tyrants. The demand for Home Rule needs no special justification because it is the birth right of the people of India to govern themselves.

But the British official world has three stale stock arguments against the demand of self-government in India. (1) India is not fit for self-government; (2) Hindus and Mohammedans will fight amongst themselves, owing to their religious differences; (3) There is no common language for India. But these people forget that the students of history know well that the idea of self-government is innate among the Indian people. Strabo, Pliny, Fa-Hien and others testify about it. The very existence of the village community system of India is the surest sign of the spirit of self-government of the Indian people from very ancient time. In fact, during the rule of the Emperor Asoka, the Indian cities were ruled by a modified form of commission form of government. (*Vide "India And Her People" by Swami Abhedananda.*) Every impartial observer of the present day Indian conditions will testify that the States of Mysore, Baroda, and others ruled by the Indian Princes are much more progressive than the British Indian Provinces. These Indian Princes have already made primary education free, compulsory and state supported, which the British Indian Government has not done for her subjects. About the question of religious hostility between the Hindus and

Mohammedans, we have to record that the most of them are created by the British authorities by encouraging the rowdies of both classes, to keep the people divided. There are Hindus and Mohammedans in the territories of the Indian Princes, but there we do not hear so much about their constant fighting. The Nizam of Hydrabad is Mohammedan; he has more Hindu subjects than Mohammedans and invariably many of the Ministers of State are Hindus, but there is no fighting or quarrel. The Maharaja of Kashmere is a Hindu; about 90% of his subjects are Mohammedans and often the Mohammedans are entrusted with very high positions of state, and there is no constant religious war. Thirdly, Switzerland is certainly one of the oldest and smallest of the European Democracies and this tiny republic has three different languages for the people of different parts; yet this language difficulty does not present any serious draw-back against the ideal of self-government. We know that Indian people are not perfect, but social reforms and other progressive movements can be more effective if the people have self-government. China and Japan are the best examples of our contentions. Nobody can ever learn to swim without getting into the water. To remedy the defects of the Indian body-politic the Indian people first must have the responsibility of running their own government and there are enough of worthy Indians to take up the responsibility of ruling their own country. Feudalism, slavery, corruptions in social and political life were once in existence in England, and to-day no modern state is perfect either in its organization or in its administration. England has its special privilege system for the nobility; the United States has its "pork barrel system"; Japan has its bribery, etc. But to remedy these wrongs none of the British savants advise that these countries must be put under foreign rule, but irresponsible British rule in India has been prescribed as the only remedy to

save India from her existing imperfect condition. Self-government of India is the only path for India's progress. Indian people, like all other people, must have it. They assert for it because nowhere in the history of the world the people have acquired their rights without a struggle.

At the present as well as in the past, the interests of the Indian people have been completely subordinated to the British commercial interests. "This is not to say that the British rule has been invariably disinterested and benevolent. Blindness and self-interest have asserted themselves in the past as they assert themselves in the present. For instance, if the rapacity and privileges of the individual foreign trader have been suppressed, it is at least an open question whether industrial development in India as a whole has not been subordinated to the economic theories and interests of Great Britain."—*P.H. Kerr, M.A., the Editor of the Round Table: Introduction to The Study of International Relations. (1916) London. p. 175.*

The most loyal of the loyalists of India who has any capacity to think for the good of his own country demands to-day that India must have at least financial autonomy, because under the present British administration India is ruled for the economic gain of the Britishers and thus the story of the prosperity of India is really a myth. In "An Empire in Pawn" published by Fisher Unwin, London, Mr. A. J. Wilson speaks of the prosperity of India in the following way: "The real state of affairs demolishes this rosy and fanciful edifice. *The prosperity painted by the British bureaucrat is 'wholly manufactured from above.' Every public work, every new branch of manufacture, every improvement, no matter what, is as much superimposed upon the Indian people as our godlike administration itself.* It is, therefore, something for which these Indian people have to pay. The Englishman, not the Indian, draws the interest

and dividends paid upon the railway-capital, just as he does upon the war-created debt or public works 'reproductive expenditure.' What is prosperity to the Englishman may consequently be death to the native. It may be perfectly true that the Indian exchequer is now paying less of the guaranteed interest out of the general taxes than it did years ago, but that makes no difference to the essential situation, which is, *that the Indian people pay altogether more now than they ever did.* More of the nett proceeds of their labor goes every year to pay the foreign debt charges under one head or another, because the aggregate of these charges increases. This consideration goes to the root of the matter, and discloses the mischievousness of most of the official writings on India."

An Indian economist of fame writes that "The increased revenue only implies a more complete stripping of the Indians by the European trader who comes in as the complement of the alien government. Nearly all the capital engaged in Indian foreign trade is in the hands of British bondholders. Almost every profitable industry is controlled in the interest of English capitalists. Jute, tea, coffee, spices, indigo, rubber, and cotton are grown by Indians for English planters. *The increased foreign trade of India so far from proving augmented Indian prosperity proves the exact reverse. In order to compete in the English or other foreign markets, the English merchant has to sell cheaply, and he buys at his own price, practically dictates terms to the producers of wheat, rice, and cereals. The crops reared with increasing difficulty owing to the poverty of the ryot and the diminishing yield of the soil, have to be rushed to the market either to meet the government land revenue or the usurer's demands, and are mostly taken by the usurers at their own valuation, by whom they are in turn sold cheap to the European merchant or his agent. Where that is not the case, the English capitalist himself controls the cultivator and crops*

*and is the usurer. Once sold, the crops are hurried out of the country by railways whose freights are conveniently arranged in the interests of foreign commerce by an obliging administration."—"Indian Finance, Currency and Banking" by S. V. Doraiswami, B.A., Madras (1915).*

The same author accuses the Indian government of debasing Indian currency for the benefit of the English merchants, and says: "*Debasement by raising the nominal value of the coin was common in mediaeval Europe. The Indian rupee is a debased coin as its nominal value (16d) is much higher than its real bullion value (9d). India is the only civilized country where this debasement is tolerated."—Ibid. page 71.*

"*The people who gained by this act were the European merchants, traders, bankers, exporters, importers, and officials who were enabled to remit to England rupees at the artificially enhanced rate of 16d rather than at its bullion rate."—Ibid. page 28.*

The same author speaking about "India's Public Debt, Borrowing Capacity and Railway Extension" says: "The problem of problems facing us is this: Is the economic condition of India improving by maintenance of a *system which draws out of the country annually about £45 millions to feed the profits of the British traders, to pay for all manner of government services, to cover the charges for pensions, for furlough allowances to Anglo-Indians on holiday, to meet interest on debt, profits on the capital invested in India, and to cover the ever increasing charges imposed by the Indian Army?*

"The Indian debt that stood at £21 millions in 1805 rose to £69.5 millions in 1858, in 1860-61 to £102 millions, in 1901-2 to £226¼ and now amounts to £300 millions. *While the gross annual income per head has been stationary at £2 (as reckoned by Lord Curzon) or 1½ (as calculated by Dadabhai Naoroji), the public debt has been swelling.* This

policy of perpetual borrowing must cease. India's borrowing capacity has been strained to the utmost. The annual income in Canada is £48, while in the United Kingdom it is £42. The public debt of the United Kingdom now stands at £725 millions. *The burden of the public debt in the richest countries like the United Kingdom, the United States, France and Germany, is nine to fifteen times less than it is in India, considered in proportion to the annual income per head.*"—*Ibid. pages 62-63.*

If the attitude of the *London Times* which often speaks for the British authorities, be the attitude of the British Government, then the Indian people, constitutional leaders and Princes would see that if they did exert their energy fully in co-operation with the Indian revolutionaries during the Great European War, against the British rule by sacrificing men and money as they have been doing in the support of the British Empire, then India might have been free—though Japan might have landed forces in India to help her ally Great Britain, as was done in the case of quelling the rebellion of the Indian soldiers at Singapore in 1915.

Again, it is a fact that the Indian people are so much discontented with British misrule, that revolutionary movement is rampant, and the authorities have adopted most stringent measures to suppress it. As this revolutionary spirit grows, the Japanese, Russian and Turco-German intervention in India, with proper understanding with revolutionaries, may lead to a free India. Whether India will be free or not, is a matter of speculation and solely depends upon the ability of the Indian leaders to adapt themselves to the circumstances by complete control of internal forces and sound organization; but the combination of Russia-Japan-Germany and other minor powers may lead to the destruction of the world empire of Great Britain, however supported by other nations.

"In India during this war, at least in twelve different places, the British authorities have found existence of elaborate conspiracies to overthrow the British rule. Several hundred young men and soldiers have been hanged, both in India and Ceylon; thousands have been sentenced to imprisonment, and many to penal servitude. Hundreds of newspapers are suppressed."—"*Reflections on Political Situation in India*," *by Lajpat Rai.*

About the existing revolutionary activities in India Mr. Ram Chandra, Editor of *The Hindusthan Gadar*, published from San Francisco, speaks in his book "*India Against Britain*" (1916) in the following way:—

"The Government put all India under martial law by a legislative enactment on March 18, 1915. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, gave the following reasons for this drastic step: 'The Government was in possession of information which proved conclusively that a precautionary measure was absolutely essential to meet the emergencies that might arise. Some deluded men had during the last few months committed acts of violence. In Bengal seditious activities, though not new, had become more daring. In the western Punjab there had also been looting and incendiarism and radical conflict. The Government had placed a number of the leaders under restraint, but further powers were necessary. The danger could only become serious if not checked promptly'."—*Page 8.*

The same author quotes the speech of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, which throws a flood of light on the situation. "It would be idle to disguise the fact that for several months we have had to deal with certain abnormal, but I hope transitory, features which caused serious anxiety to the government. We have been confronted with a conspiracy organized to subvert the authority of the government of India, especially in the provinces, and to pursue that nefarious

scheme by murder and rapine, by use of the bomb, the dagger and the revolver. The prompters of the movement appear to have been inspired by the German policy of 'frightfulness.' Their professed object was to terrorise the administration.... But while we were busily engaged in checking this dangerous movement in the Central Punjab, another storm burst in an unexpected quarter. In the districts of Southwestern Punjab a section of the Mohammedan rural population, agriculturalists and menials, took advantage of the panic to begin a campaign of lawlessness and looting combined with arson. The dacoities while they lasted, were very serious....The spirit of disorder spread with amazing rapidity over the south of Jhang within a few weeks, before the police force on these remote and hitherto orderly tracts could be strengthened sufficiently to cope with all the decoit bands. Over 1,000 arrests have been made in three districts (Jhang, Mazaffergawh and Multan) alone."—*Ibid.*, *p. 46*.

The same author quotes various passages from the proceedings of the British House of Commons: "Mr. McCullom Scott (M. P.) asked the Under-Secretary of State for colonies how many cases arising out of the recent riots in Ceylon were tried before court-martial. Mr. Steel-Maitland, the Under-Secretary of State for the colonies, replied that the number of the persons who were tried before court-martial was 412."—*Ibid.*, *p. 44*.

"The newspaper and Government reports show that since the war 300 newspapers have been suppressed. Five thousand men have been arrested in Multan, 4,185 in Jhang, 300 in Lahore and several thousands in Bengal....A notable feature of the unrest were the mutinies in several regiments, specially those stationed at Jhansi, Lahor, Ambala, and Meerut. *A pitched fight occurred between the Bengal revolutionists and the military in Orrisa.* As a consequence hundreds of revolutionists have been hanged

at Jhansi, Lahore, Meerut, Ambala, Benares, Arah, and other places."—*Ibid.*, *p. 10.*

"We must not imagine that India is still asleep because perfect peace (!) reigns throughout Hindosthan, and —as they tell us—Indians are eager that they voluntarily supply fighting forces in the field to the extent of tens of thousands of men. This is not so. India is stirring, too. The Andaman Islands, our modern counterpart of Van Diemen's Land, are overflowing with political prisoners shipped off without trial and without accusation under an obsolete law. The wholesale hangings at Lahore, solely on police evidence, have been strongly condemned by the Anglo-Indian officials themselves. Bengalis are long derided by us English as a people incapable for centuries of resisting oppressions in any shape. We have contrived to rouse such a spirit in them that anarchists and assassins (!) are openly cheered when living, and treated as martyrs when dead, even in Calcutta, itself. There can be no doubt that disaffection is growing throughout Hindosthan; though the population is entirely deprived of arms, any organized insurrection is not to be anticipated. But India demands self-government, and requires that the drain of £30,000,000 yearly to England from the poorest population on the planet, without any commercial return, should be snatched. When the highminded and noble philanthropist, Lajpat Rai, who has suffered frequent and unreaonable persecution from the British Indian government, publishes a quiet but a crushing indictment of the whole spirit of our rule and declares that self-government is the only remedy; when that widely circulated but very moderate paper *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, cannot refrain from the stringent criticism of our unsympathetic and harmful domination; when every Hindu shrine and Mohammedan mosque is a centre of secret propaganda against the foreigner, Hindu and Mohammedan being of the same race, and suffering under

the same oppression—when all these things are going on and the anarchical outbreaks are steadily growing, statesmen ought to look facts in the face and give fair play to our vast subject peoples before the symptoms of continual unrest are followed by irresistible conspiracy. And an Empire which declares that it is fighting a world war for the maintenance of national rights and national freedom cannot in decency keep one-fifth of the human race in subjugation to foreign despotism and liable to exaction of a foreign economic tribute on a huge scale. If England persists in a fatal policy there can be little doubt as to the ultimate result. Not even the legions of Japan will suffice to keep India permanently enslaved. The movements in China and Japan have already had their influence throughout Hindosthan. However desirable to great Indian feudatories to exhibit their loyalty to the dominant power to-day, it is inconceivable that they can fail to know what is taking place around them, or—that they fail to share the general Asiatic feeling against the supremacy of the white race."—*H. M. Hyndman*, "*The Awakening of Asia.*" (*The Fortnightly Review*, *Oct. 1916*).

About the aspiration of the Constitutionalists of India the late Hon. Mr. G. K. Gokhale in 1907 said in very explicit terms: "I recognize no limits to my aspiration for our motherland. I want our people to be in their own country what other people are in theirs. I want our men and women, without distinction of caste or creed, to have opportunities to grow to the full stature, untampered by cramping and unnatural restrictions. *I want India to take her proper place among the great nations of the world, politically, industrially, in religion, in literature, in science and in arts.*"

When the Asian countries are moving fast to have proper recognition, the position of India cannot remain stationary. This has been understood by Mr. Lloyd George

and some others, so two prominent Indians, the Maharaja of Bikanir and Sir S. P. Sinha have been chosen to be advisers of the Secretary of State for India in the coming Imperial Conference to be held in London to devise means for the successful ending of the war and reconstruction of the British Empire on a broader basis. It has also been *unofficially reported* that some Indian nobles, i. e. Rajas, will be chosen to sit in the House of Lords in London. These suggestions are all very well, so far as they go;—these means have been adopted to get more men and money out of India during the war, but these concessions do not remedy the Indian situation at all. Mere concessions of this nature will never eradicate the root of discontent in India, rather these will give more impetus to the radicals to adopt more vigorous measures. *Indian people must have the control of the government of their country. They must man and officer their own army and navy; they must be autonomous, sooner or later. There is no power on earth to stop the tide of this progressive movement in India, which embraces "right of nationality" and "right of Free Government OF THE PEOPLE, BY THE PEOPLE AND FOR THE PEOPLE."* It is to be seen what comes next from the British authorities after the declaration of Dr. Zimmerman, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of the German Government, in his memorable note to the President of the United States of America which brought about the rupture between these nations, that *India ought to have her independence, according to the principle of nationality advocated by the Entente Allies, specially Great Britain.*

There is another possibility that England and America will be able to win the good will of Germany and Russia and then throttle Japan. This is not an impossibility; in that case, unless a strong China stands by Japan, and the people of India raise a serious revolutionary outbreak with success, then Japan is doomed forever. So the Japanese are anxious

to strengthen their position in China, and, if possible, to cement an alliance in due course of time. Japan should be prepared for the worst.

It is almost certain that after the conclusion of the European war a new readjustment of relations between the Powers is bound to come. In this matter of readjustment the Far Eastern Problem and the question of the mastery of the Pacific will play an important part. England will try to win the good will of Germany so as to crush Japan. Germany may not agree to play second-fiddle to Great Britain, since the former has nothing to gain by so doing. Japan and Russia may stand aloof from Great Britain, though outwardly not opposed to her, and this will be the beginning of another war. Or these superior white nations may make a combination to crush "up-start" Japan, the disputer of their mastery in Asia. So it seems the outlook for peace is not bright, and I am afraid Asia will be the battle-ground of the next gigantic war for which the diplomats of the First Class Powers are now preparing. There is, it seems, no remedy against it, because China is not yet strong in the same way as Japan is to-day. A strong China with her 400 millions alone could have dictated a pacific policy to the world. *Then, again, the peace in Asia will never be secure so long as Great Britain holds India as her exclusive property and excludes the people of India from the birth-right of independent government. Independent India will give equal opportunity to all nations of the world, but India under the British yoke will be a source of constant jealousy among the European Powers and all others interested in contesting British supremacy in Asia.*

In the past India did not come as a factor in consideration in the readjustment of Balance of Power, but I venture to predict that in the future India will not remain as a mere centre of British Diplomacy. The question of India will form the centre of World Diplomacy, and the Indian states-

men who generally think of Indian questions as mere local matters will have to adapt themselves to their position in world politics, so as to solve the destiny of the nation.

*Broadly speaking there are three great problems in the Far East: (1) Inevitable commercial and territorial expansion of Japan in Asia, specially towards the South, which will threaten the absurd European supremacy in Asia; (2) Evolution of a strong China, through friendly Japanese co-operation, as a champion of peace and protector of rights of other Asiatic people who are now under European domination; (3) Rise of Independent India to contribute her share to the cause of human progress as she did in the days of her ancient glory.*

# APPENDIX

The *Japan Chronicle* of January 19, 1917, published the following article as a translation of a portion of Mr. Tokutomi's recent work "The Rising Generation in the Taisho Era and the Future of the Japanese Empire," which is one of the most popular publications issued in Japan of recent years. The distinguished author is an ardent advocate of the policy known as 'Asiatic Monroe Doctrine.' We reproduce the article from the *Peking Post* of February 10th, 1917.

## JAPAN'S MIGHTY MISSION

BY

HON. MR. IICHIRO TOKUTOMI

*The Chief Editor and Proprietor of the Kokumin Shimbin, Crown Member of the House of Peers of Japan, etc.*

"'There is no place like home' goes the popular saying. There is, indeed, no nation which does not love its own country, which they regard as abounding in beautiful scenery and other attractive natural features. To be candid, however, Japan is not necessarily the happiest country in the world, nor is it the healthiest in the universe. It is not like America or Russia, which are self-supporting countries. In fact, Japan is now obliged to go to other countries for a certain quantity of rice, the principal food-stuff of the Japanese, and for the supply of the greater part of the cotton which is the chief requisite for Japanese clothes. The fact that this country has been compelled to follow an expansion policy since the Restoration may be attributed to the insufficiency of domestic productions to supply its own needs, and the prosperity of Imperialism testifies to the shortage of domestic supplies.

"*What, then, is the mission of the Japanese Embire? In my opinion, it is of more urgent importance for Japan to try to restore the equilibrium between the White and Yellow races than to indulge in the chimerical theory of accomblishing the unification of the world, as is preached by some irresponsible Japanese.* To speak frankly, it is out of the question for Japan to attempt the unification of the world, for she has only just secured her own independence in world politics. In other words, she has come to be regarded by the other Powers as an independent State only quite recently. In the meantime, the influence of the Whites is fast making itself felt on Japan's neighbours in the East. What are the conditions prevailing in China, India, and Persia? There is, indeed, not a country east of Suez which is not under the influence of the Whites, with the single exception of Japan. Are there any prospects of carrying out the principle of racial equality under these conditions?

"Though the Chinese people are of the chief Yellow race they are contented with fawning on the British, Americans, and Germans in order to snatch momentary ease. Setting apart the quite illusive theory of compassing the unification of the world, it will, at least, rest with the Japanese to make efforts to better this unenviable situation of China, as part of their duty towards a people of the same race. It is our firm conviction that the mission of the Japanese Empire consists in carrying out the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine in the most complete manner.

"By the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine we mean the principle that Asiatic affairs should be dealt with by the Asiatics. As, however, there is no Asiatic nation except the Japanese capable of undertaking these duties, the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is virtually the principle of the Japanese dealing with Asiatic affairs.

"There must be no misunderstanding as to the meaning of this doctrine. *We do not hold so narrow-minded a view*

*as to wish to attempt to drive the Whites out of Asia. What we want is simply that we become independent of the Whites, or free Yellows of the rampancy of the Whites.* How can we deal with the influence of the Whites in the East on the Asiatic races? When we recall the fact that as long as fifty years were required for dealing effectually with a small State like Korea, we can well imagine what number of difficulties attends the settlement of questions relating to the Asiatic Continent, together with the Eastern Seas.

"*The most essential point the Japanese people should bear in mind in carrying out the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is that they must first win the respect and affection of the Eastern races and the deference of the Whites. The Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is the principle of Eastern autonomy, that is, of Orientals dealing with Eastern questions.* At present European questions are dealt with by Europeans, South and North American questions by the people of South and North America, and Australian questions by the Australians. It is, therefore, spiritless, humiliating, and absurd of the Asiatics to leave their affairs in the hands of Europeans and Americans. The reason why Orientals do not govern themselves is because they lack the capacity of governing themselves. If the Orientals have the spirit to resent the rampancy of the Whites, it will be well for them to attend to the improvement of their condition.

"*The Whites are in the habit of taking a narrow view of the wide world. They have not always been a superior race. They learned religion from the Hebrews, astronomy, chemistry and mathematics from the Arabs, and the invention of the compass and gunpowder from the Chinese. They are, so to speak, the pupils of those whom they call the coloured races. They are, however, forgetful of these facts, and look down upon the Orientals as belonging to inferior races. The principle of brotherhood which they preach is only applied to the Whites, as are their principles of equality and humanity.*

*For the sake of logical correctness, they are sometimes obliged to advocate the universal application of these principles, but these arguments are merely made for form's sake.*

"In these circumstances, only two ways are open for Japan to pursue in formulating her attitude in regard to world politics. The one is to accommodate herself to the ways of the Whites and to lead a 'quasi-White' life in constant dread of them. The other is to give full play to her characteristic merits, instead of being ashamed of belonging to the Yellow race, and by dint of indefatigable efforts equip herself with qualifications superior in every respect to the Whites by adopting the merits of others and discarding her own demerits. In this way, Japan can make the Whites accept her superiority as a glaring fact, and then she can go a step farther to make endeavours on behalf of Orientals in general to place them on equal terms with the Whites.

"*However skilfully one may imitate others, the imitator can never come up to the mark of the original. By attempting to imitate the Whites, the Japanese can only provoke in others the contempt one feels for a crow trying to deport itself in the manner of a peacock.* Now that Japan is determined to secure her position in the world by means of her strong-nation principle, she need not show any hesitation in choosing between these two ways lying before her.

"Some people may be dubious of the abilities of the Yamato race to bring about an Eastern autonomy, which is looked upon by them as too grand an ideal for the Japanese nation, *but so long as the Japanese people are not content with the mere imitation of the Whites, the accomplishment of an Eastern autonomy is their necessity rather than their ultimate object.*

### The Orient for Orientals

"Nothing is, of course, further from our intentions than to advocate Japan's conquering of the world, such as Alexander the Great attempted. *We are ready to leave the Europeans to attend to European affairs, and the Americans to American questions, but we demand that they should leave Orientals to attend to their own questions, just as we, Eastern peoples, do not interfere with their affairs. However earnestly they may preach the principle of universal brotherhood, the theory of the Whites, who regard not only their property but other people's property as their own, is scarcely tenable before the impartial judgment of the Almighty.*

"An Eastern autonomy does not essentially mean the expulsion of the Whites. *If, as the result of an Eastern autonomy, the influence of the West, which has been advancing to the East, should return whence it came, the Whites have no reason to be dissatisfied, for the East will have simply returned to the original owners what it cannot in reason accept. The Eastern autonomy theory must not be viewed in the same light as the unreasonable principle of exclusion of foreigners that prevailed in Japan at the time of the Restoration. It only aims at the recovery of rights which the East ought to have always exercised.*

### Eastern Autonomy

"Even the revision of the early treaties effected by the Japanese Government caused much resentment among British residents in the Japanese open ports against the Foreign Office of their own Government, as a sacrifice of their rights. *It is, therefore, as clear as light that the above theory will be received by the Whites with anything but favour, but world affairs cannot always be settled to the advantage of the Whites, nor are we born to serve the*

*Whites. Whether it is convenient or inconvenient to them, they cannot offer any strong opposition to our steps, which are taken in strict accord with a sense of high justice. This is the reason why we unhesitatingly uphold the principle of an Eastern autonomy.*

"Such an autonomy, however, is not free from the discriminating sense, as it disclaims the right of others to interfere in our affairs while keeping aloof from the affairs of others ourselves. This is the reason why it does not meet with the approval of some enlightened people. Our ultimate ideal, therefore, must be to constitute ourselves the medium for harmonising the East with the West, and for making the Whites fully understand the East, with a view to realising universal brotherhood in the true sense of the word. If the Japanese nation are sincerely desirous of adopting the merits of the other Powers; and their actions are guided by impartiality, free from all bias, their behaviour will of necessity be calculated to attain the object of harmonising the whole world. We have to choose between two courses—of making an enemy of the world, and of making a friend of the world. If we face the world upholding the principle of revering Japan exclusively, we run the risk of making an enemy of the whole world unless we succeed in dominating it. Such a principle may serve the purpose so far as domestic administration is concerned, but in dealing with the world we must take the different positions of the World Powers into due consideration in formulating our attitude. In this way, we can, for the first time, make our lofty and impartial motives clear to the world. We do not go the length of advocating disarmament in order to benefit the world. Negligence is a formidable foe at all times, and preparations are most essential.

## No World Domination

"Nothing is more dangerous than to lay down a national policy on the basis of making an enemy of the world. We must, therefore, see to it that the Eastern autonomy theory will not be misrepresented as a plan for excluding the Whites or for world-domination, lest Japan should be placed in the very sorry plight of fighting all the other Powers, with their inexhaustible resources, with her limited power.

"The mighty object of the Restoration was to place Japan on a par with the Great Powers. In other words, it consisted in safeguarding the independence of this country. *The question of to-day is not the independence of the Japanese Empire, but her expansion. This leads to the birth of the Eastern autonomy theory. Now that the national rights of this country are recovered, it is incumbent upon the Yamato race to try to recover for the weaker nations of the East their rights, which have been trampled underfoot by other Powers.*

"If once Japan attains these objects, we must refrain from abusing our influence to bring pressure to bear upon the Whites, *but we must exert ourselves to break down the racial and religious prejudices to which the Whites are wedded, and show the world that the civilisations of the East and the West are reconcilable, that the White and the Yellow races are by no means natural enemies to each other, and that if they join hands on an equal plane, the ideal of universal brotherhood is not necessarily impossible to realise.*"

*"The Orient indeed, has unity; it has common ideals and sentiments; but these are not things apart; they belong to the general life of humanity."*

*—Dr. Paul S. Reinsch: Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East.*